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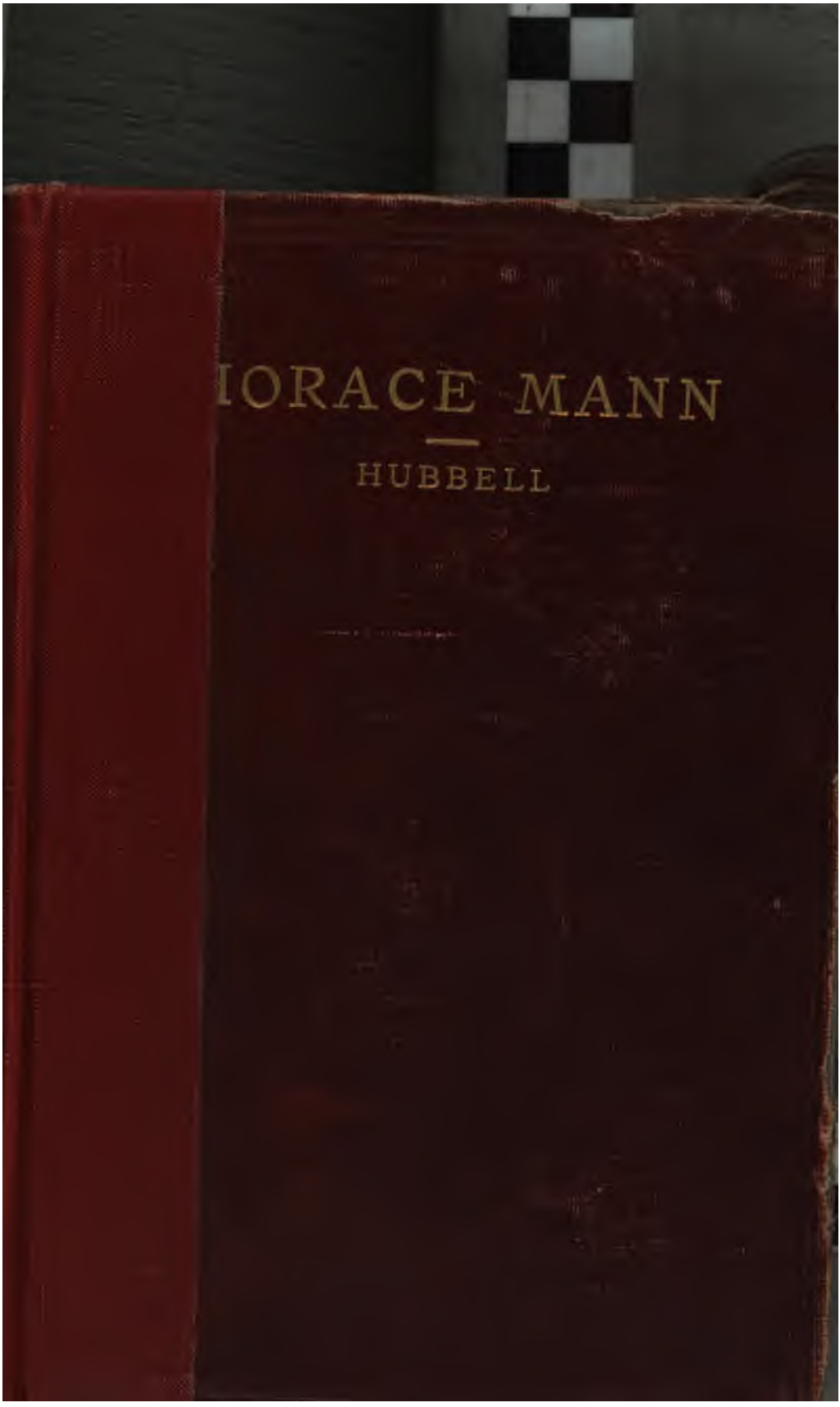
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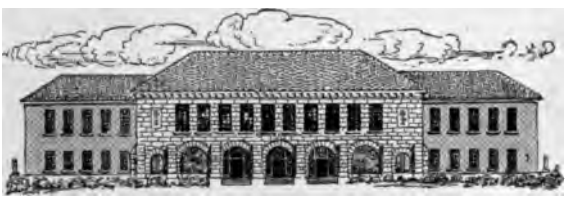
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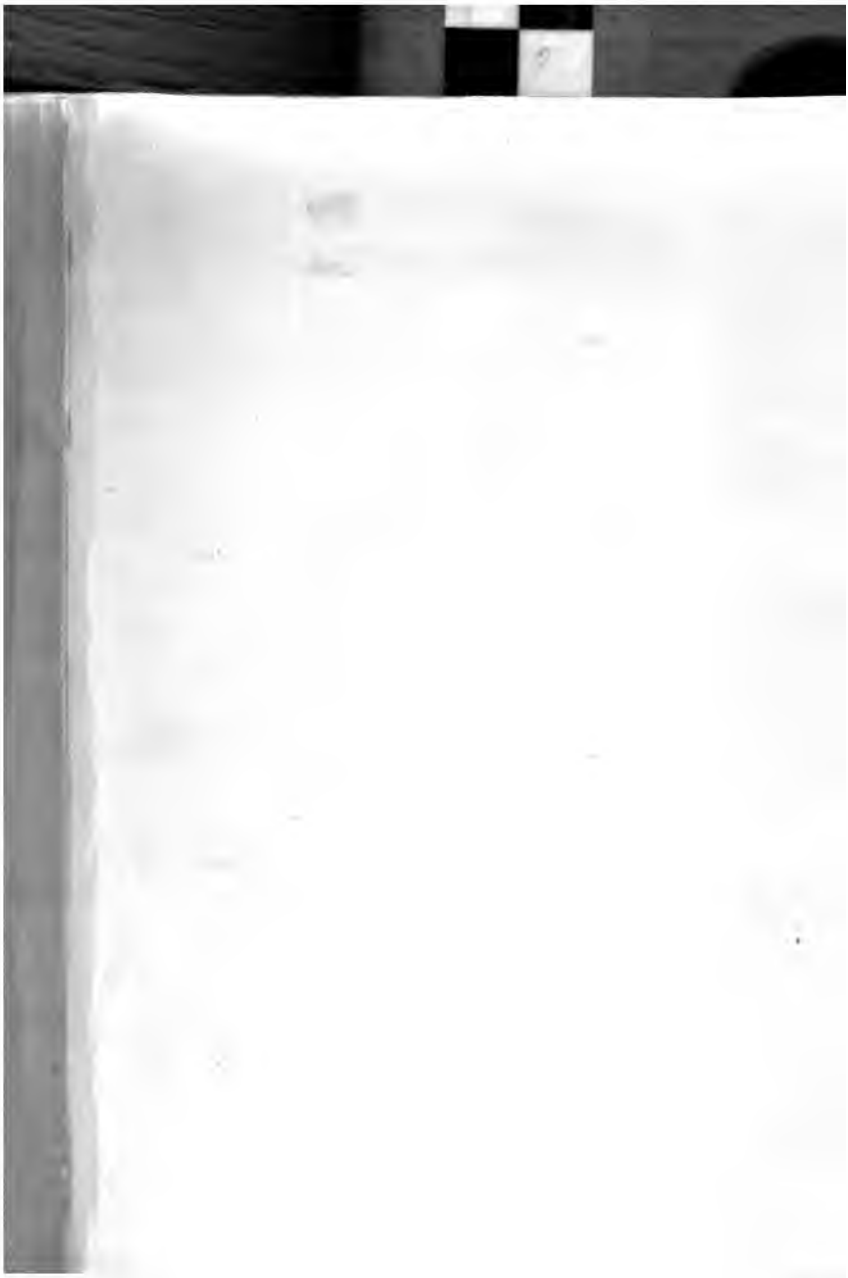

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HORACE MANN

EDUCATOR, PATRIOT AND REFORMER

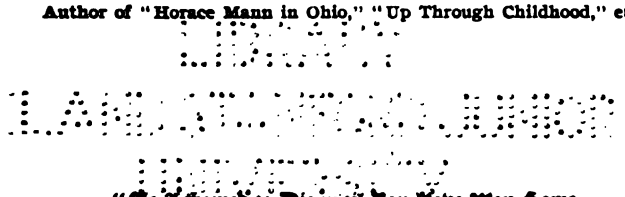
A STUDY IN LEADERSHIP

BY

GEORGE ALLEN HUBBELL, Ph.D.

Sometime Professor at Antioch College

Author of "Horace Mann in Ohio," "Up Through Childhood," etc.



"Be Ashamed to Die until You Have Won Some Victory for Humanity"

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PREFACE

The decision to undertake this work was not a hasty one. When I was teaching a village school in Ohio, a copy of Horace Mann's inaugural address at Antioch College fell into my hands. I read it again and again until it passed into my mental constitution as particles of iron pass into the blood. I entered Antioch College because it was supposed to embody Mr. Mann's ideals.

Later, as a member of the faculty of Antioch College, I read a paper before the State College Association on "Horace Mann in Ohio." The study for this paper led me to the choice of this subject for my doctor's dissertation at Columbia University.

The mystic personality drew me on, and Mr. George C. Mann, of Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, turned over to me his father's manuscripts, private letters, and all material in his hands which promised to be of any service in this work. For more than six years this matter has been with me, and, in the intervals of the busy life of an educator, I have carried forward the life story. New material has come to me from many quarters, and I have gathered much from those who knew Mr. Mann in Massachusetts and in Ohio. It has been my good fortune to wander again through the



haunts of his early life, and to find many a hint or suggestion in Franklin, Providence, Dedham, Boston, West Newton and Yellow Springs. Material gathered from many different sources in point of time and place necessarily offers different points of view.

Over this material I have pondered, thought and dreamed. The picture has come and the book is done. I have never been able to put into words the best that I have thought and felt of this man, but the word-picture seems to be a true one; such as might have been written by a man who loved him, but who was not blind to his shortcomings. I send it out to the young men of our country with the hope that it may furnish them with useful lessons, and give them inspiration for worthy leadership. Never were the needs for leadership greater, nor the opportunities more abundant than now.

An excellent bibliography of Horace Mann, prepared by Mr. B. Pickman Mann, was published in the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1895–6, vol. i, pp. 897–927.

My hearty thanks are due to the Houghton Mifflin Company for permission to use the quotation from the "Life of Mr. Richard Henry Dana."

Numerous quotations have been made directly from the journal of Mr. Mann, from private letters, and, in several cases, from the "Life and Works." Perhaps no better way can be found to show the temper and spirit of a man than to study his words in the light of that use which prompted them.

Special thanks are due to the sons of Horace Mann, Mr. George C. Mann, named above, and Mr. B. Pickman Mann, of Washington, D. C., for material without

reserve, for a critical reading of the manuscript, and for criticisms and suggestions.

In the earlier or later forms, the manuscript has had the benefit of the thoughtful and kindly criticism of the late Mr. George A. Walton, of West Newton, Massachusetts, the late Rev. A. D. Mayo, of Washington, D. C., and of Miss Rebecca Rice, of Yellow Springs, Ohio.

The late Mr. Nathaniel T. Allen, who, in his early life, lived in the home of Mr. Mann in West Newton, Massachusetts; Miss Metcalf, who was intimately acquainted with Mrs. Charlotte M. Mann; Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Mrs. N. T. Summerbell, Judge A. L. McKinney, Mrs. Joseph Wilson, Professor F. H. Tufts, Prof. L. G. Fessenden, Rev. Benjamin Seaver, Rev. Thomas Holmes, and Mr. Thomas Charles, all made me their debtors for the interpretation of this character.

The names of the generous men and women who have aided in this work by interview, by comment, by item, book or article, are far too many to be given in this space. I can only thank this host of good friends and assure them that their work has borne fruit in this volume, which we all hope will go out to make better known to this generation the devotion, the spirit of service, and the strong personality of one who saw the needs of his time, not a few, and served his generation with his whole heart.

THE AUTHOR.

TEACHERS COLLEGE,
NEW YORK, December, 1909.



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HORACE MANN

CHAPTER I

IN THE OLD HOME

Great men and obscure ones are near akin in fundamentals. They are born; they marry; they die; and so the tide of generations sweeps on. The study of any single life involves the study of many others, which are examined only that they may show the shaping of the thousand forces working toward the development of the one human soul; so the subject of a biography must, in the record, swing into prominence beyond all other men.

It was in the unsettled times following the Revolution, in the year 1786, that Thomas Mann, of Franklin, Massachusetts, was married to Rebecca Stanley, of Attleboro, Massachusetts. This man of thirty and his wife of twenty-five began their married life half a mile from the village of Franklin on what was known as Mann's Plain. Here, beginning sixty-seven years before, his grandfather, another Thomas Mann, had cut down the forest trees to make a clearing on which he built his house and reared his family. Our Thomas Mann and Rebecca Stanley had both taught school and were numbered among the vigorous and thrifty young people of their localities. Thomas Mann possessed more than ordinary talent, intelligence and moral

worth. Rebecca was distinguished for her mentality, her conscientiousness and her unwavering devotion to truth. They were people of simple tastes, but responsive to all the influences of those stirring times and the new home which they established in the old homestead soon became one of the centers of the simple culture of the village. Books were brought from the library and read and discussed in the long winter evenings. Mr. Mann attended the town meetings and was active in the support of measures for the public good. His was a church-going family, and the stimulating sermons of Dr. Emmons may be reckoned among the great means of nourishing and enriching the family life.

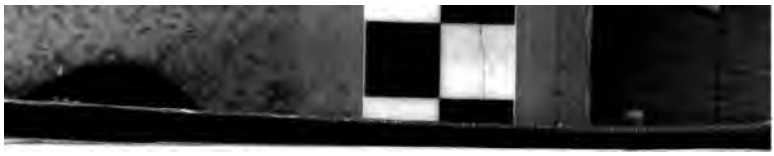
In this promising home Horace Mann was born, May 4th, 1796. He was the fourth child and the third and most distinguished son of his parents. It was a family loved and respected throughout the region. All its members were keen, intelligent and able, and his sister, Lydia B. Mann, rendered such signal service to the cause of higher learning that in later times her friends and neighbors said that if she had lived in the days of higher female education, she would have made a mark equal to her brother Horace.

When a mere child, Horace followed his aunt and brothers and sisters about the house, asking them to pronounce his spelling lesson or read to him books beyond his years. The whole home atmosphere was conducive to a passion for learning. Educated men were received with honor and always mentioned with approval. Horace himself says,

"I had a love for knowledge which nothing could repress. An inward voice raised its plaint forever in

my heart for something nobler and better; and, if my parents had not the means to give me knowledge, they intensified the love of it. They always spoke of learning and learned men with enthusiasm and a kind of reverence. I was taught to take care of the few books we had, as though there was something sacred about them. I never dog-eared one in my life, nor profanely scribbled upon title pages, margin or fly leaf; and would as soon have stuck a pin through my flesh as through the pages of a book. When very young I remember a young lady came to our house on a visit, who was said to have studied Latin. I looked upon her as a sort of goddess. Years after, the idea that I could ever study Latin broke upon my mind with the wonder and bewilderment of a revelation. Until the age of fifteen, I had never been to school more than eight or ten weeks in a year."

The school was not the only source of his instruction; the village had its lessons. The town of Franklin was composed chiefly of farmers. It is twenty-seven miles southwest of Boston, some twenty miles north of Providence, and twenty miles from the home of Samuel, John and John Quincy Adams. In 1800, it had a population of 1255, which in 1820 had grown to 1630. In those days of small towns and no cities, it was a place of importance, quiet though it must have been. It was a Puritan parish, religious in origin and in annals, and ready with the tongue. A people so intelligent, intense and energetic had everything to talk about. The men leaned over the rail fences and talked with each other in the fields. The women talked at their housework, and the clatter of tongues kept time to the rocking of the cradle and the braiding of hats. The village store and the shoemaker's shop were educational centers. The meeting house, between the two Sunday services, was vocal



with the gossip of the women, and the men talked on the tavern porch and in the post-office. Nothing was done until it was talked into shape. Every phase of public and private affairs was fully discussed,—every man's business, the minister's sermon, the new schoolmistress, the last engagement,—everything important or unimportant came in for its share of thought and comment.

And Horace Mann was reared in this society. The people were in dead earnest in the exchange of opinions. These very conditions and these habits of life resulted in the development of a remarkable community and in this surcharged atmosphere the mind of many a child was kindled by the torch of genius.

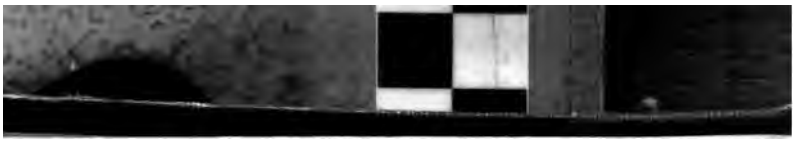
As in most New England towns, the church was the leading institution, and the leading man in the church was the minister. Head and shoulders above all the ministers of the surrounding country stood Dr. Nathaniel Emmons, who preached to and ruled this congregation for upwards of fifty years. He had been established as pastor of the village church since 1773. His was the paramount influence in shaping the intellectual and religious life of the community. In his century no biography of a Franklin man can be written without taking his influence into account.*

Dr. Emmons was always a student. In those days

*Eight years before the death of Dr. Emmons, Judge Theron Metcalf, of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, in an oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University, said: "I desire to be grateful that in the place of my nativity such an example (as Dr. Emmons) of clerical dignity, fidelity and contempt of 'the popularity which is run after' was constantly before my eyes, and that such an example of 'the popularity that follows' is still before the eyes of the people."—Sprague's Annals of American Pulpit.

candidates for the ministry usually served an apprenticeship for the sacred calling. Dr. Emmons trained nearly a hundred young men for this work. A neighboring minister said to a candidate who applied to him for training: "By all means go to Dr. Emmons; he knows every rope on the ship." When Horace Mann was born, Dr. Emmons was already thoroughly established as a great thinker and a great preacher. Scores of travellers and men of note came to this quiet parish to talk with the strong philosopher and preacher. Indeed, this was so much a feature of the time that in the establishment of a stage route, it was urged that it should pass through Franklin for the convenience of visitors to the home of Dr. Emmons. This was a time when many ministers worked for a part of the season on the farm and gave only the margin of their time to preaching. But Dr. Emmons would follow none of this practice. He gave many hours each day to study and meditation. He read widely, thought with vigor, and thundered the doctrines of Calvinism into the minds of his hearers. His methodical habits, his disposition to master every subject that he took up, and his tendency to study one book thoroughly before he should lay it aside, made him so effective a teacher that Horace, at the age of ten, had been taught the ins and outs of the whole theological argument of the time.

Dr. Emmons published many noble sermons, and strangely enough, there is a striking resemblance in the method of treatment and literary style of this masterful Franklin preacher, and the nervous, virile and convincing speeches of Horace Mann. He was very careful to digest what he read and was painstaking to the last degree in examining all disputed points and



in verifying statements. He quickened and confirmed his own views by conversation and discussion with the leading ministers for miles around.

Let no one think that a man of this temperament could himself dwell, or allow his people to dwell, in quiet in any community. He was always amid stirring scenes; for he saw angels encamping on the plain of Franklin and ascending and descending to or from the skies. He looked upon life as a constant preparation for the Day of Judgment. "God is preparing all things as fast as possible for the great day," said he. To him all life was of moment; no happening trivial; no incident unimportant; and so he taught his people. This belief of Dr. Emmons brought the first great crisis in the life of Horace Mann.

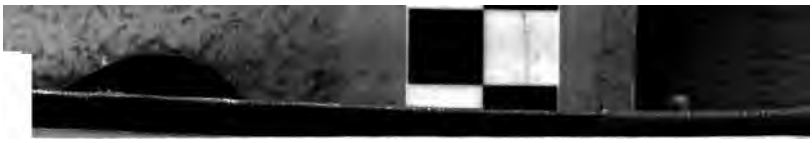
God pity the boy who fails of a happy childhood, and God pity him a thousand times who must know too early the tragedies of life! Sorest of all his early experiences was that which came to young Horace in the death of his brother. Stephen Mann was a high-spirited, enterprising boy of noble character, nearly eighteen years of age. He was Horace Mann's ideal, confidant and guide—the one on whom his heart leaned and to whom his eyes had been turned as the pattern of excellence and the source of inspiration. On a summer afternoon, Stephen went swimming in a near-by lake, sank from sight and his body was not recovered until life was extinct. The sorrowful family bore his lifeless form to the church for burial, and there the strong, gifted and conscientious Dr. Emmons preached a great sermon, warning the young against the dangers of putting off their return to God, and telling them that even then Stephen might be in eternal torment. All

the children of the family had been taught the discipline of self-control, but in the breast of Horace Mann there raged a tumult of emotions which no words can describe. He went out from that house with a broken heart, his faith in God and in man shattered and with an eternal question of the why of things burned into his soul.

The quick, nervous and far-reaching mind of young Horace, furnished to the fullest degree with the arguments of Calvinism, and burdened with the great doctrines of eternal retribution, was pained beyond measure. He was hurt too deep for tears. He doubted the goodness of a God who could not only take the life of his brother, but was willing to condemn him to everlasting punishment—and such a brother, his friend, his ideal and his interpreter of life! It was a sermon conceived in duty and preached with a spirit of independence and devotion to the common good, but a sermon which was, for Horace Mann, the beginning of years of doubt and struggle.

He never stepped out of the shadow. Late in life he wrote to Dr. Craig:

"I feel constantly, and more and more deeply, what an unspeakable calamity a Calvinistic education is. What a dreadful thing it was for me! If it did not succeed in making me that horrible thing, a Calvinist, it did succeed in depriving me of that filial love of God, that tenderness, that sweetness, that intimacy, that desiring, nestling love, which I say it is natural that a child should feel toward a Father who combines all excellence. I see him to be so, logically, intellectually, demonstratively; but when I embrace him, when I would rush into his arms and breathe out unspeakable love and adoration, then the grim old Calvinistic spectre thrusts itself before me. I am as a frightened child,



whose eye, knowledge, experience, belief even, are not sufficient to obliterate the image which an early fright burnt into his soul. I have to reason the old image away and replace it with the loveliness and beauty of another; and in that process the zeal, the alacrity, the fervor, the spontaneousness, are, partially at least, lost."

When this issue is set there is only one result. The man, under such conditions, must give himself up to be led by authority without the least hope of mental or spiritual freedom; or he must boldly declare himself free of all the bonds which creed would impose. And this thoughtful boy brought out of the struggle this one great gain of freedom. He hated the God who could condemn and punish one so noble as he knew his brother to be, and in the strength of this hatred, he declared his independence of all the bonds imposed by ecclesiastical authority. Horace Mann was free; free to think and to feel! It was a declaration that left him half intoxicated with the new independence, but a declaration which robbed him of the rich inheritance of that faith, which, handed down from father to son for generations, serves to soothe and heal and bless. Many a young man is taught by his elders or by his church a series of doctrines which compel his intellect to apologize continually to his heart. Happy is he if he can make without loss the re-adjustment between the old faith and that new faith which springs eternal in the human heart.

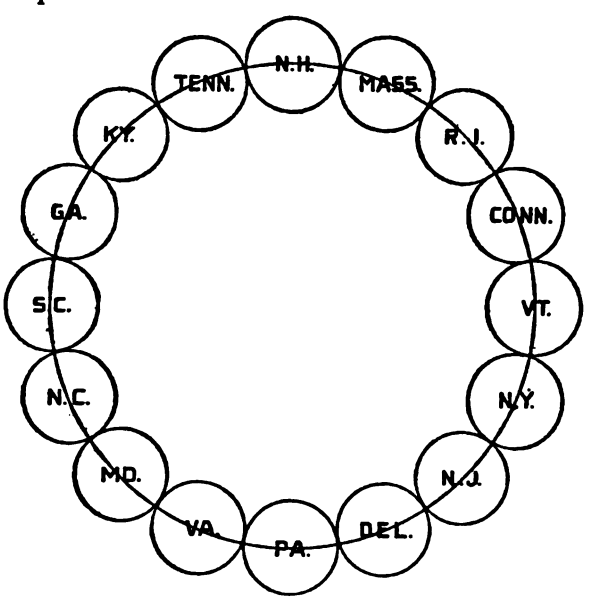
But the religion in which Horace Mann had been trained was not only a religion of words and creeds. It was a religion of great moral ideals and heroic purposes; a religion of stern duties but full of daily deeds of love and mercy, and young Horace turned to his

daily tasks, to do them well. The heart had wavered but the mind was strong and ready to be kindled.

His intellectual life was fed in no small degree from the little library in Franklin. Back in 1778, the Massachusetts Legislature had granted the town of Franklin a charter and the place, before called Exeter, was named in honor of Benjamin Franklin, then admired for his brilliant service at the court of France. In acknowledgment of the compliment, he offered the people a bell for their meeting house, but afterwards, judging from their character that they would prefer sense to sound, he changed the gift to a library, and asked his friend, Dr. Price, in London, to select for them books to the value of twenty-five pounds. The outgrowth of this gift was the establishment of an independent library association to which each member paid one dollar a year for the use of the growing collection of books and for participation in the management of the library. Thomas Mann was a member of this subscription library, but before Horace Mann could read, it was on so firm a basis that all its privileges were open to every citizen of the town. Dr. Emmons records that, when he came to Franklin, his congregation had a "pretty parish library" and that in 1786 Dr. Franklin presented them with a donation of some of the best English authors. But he does not record that he preached a memorial sermon, rich in noble tribute to the generous donor.

A catalog of this library shows that it abounded in strong meat. There were sermons in large numbers, but Pope and Addison and other standard writers were there, with history and some good fiction. Horace Mann said of this library that it "was better suited to

the conscript fathers than to the proscript children"; but he read much, and it is not to be doubted that in the little library at Franklin was laid the foundation of his acquaintance with history, government and economics. It requires no special gift of the imagination to see young Horace bending over a copy of Pope's poems as he sits by the evening lamp, or to note him as he follows the graceful and pleasing essays of Addison. Now we see him a boy of fifteen, as he finishes a sketch of the states* and writes beneath them this inscription:



THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE EDEN OF THE EARTH, AND THE FATAL FORBIDDEN FRUIT OF ALL WHO INVADE THEM.
FRANKLIN, *Jan.* 29, 1811. HORACE MANN.

*These drawings are now preserved in the Boston Public Library.

And here we find a tribute to the Creator:

THE WORKS OF NATURE.

EVERY PART OF THE CREATION DEMANDS ATTENTION AND SHOWS THE POWER AND PROCLAIMS THE WISDOM OF ITS ALMIGHTY AUTHOR.

HORACE MANN.

FRANKLIN, MASS.
Jan. 28, 1811.

He was a tall, slender youth, with shoulders stooped just a little and head tipped slightly forward, a position indicative of his habit of thoughtfulness. When his eye fell upon a stranger, his face was cold and stern, but when it met the face of a friend, there appeared that wonderful smile which in the after years, years full of suffering, gave to his countenance a peculiar radiance. Yet with some neighbor's boy, whom he enjoyed, there was a look of drollery or the quick spirit of pursuing fun which so often marked his earlier days. Even at this age he was ready with quotation, epigram or pungent wit and did not always spare his victims.

A man is educated, not by books alone but by labor. A year before the death of his brother, Horace Mann's father died of consumption and the mother, with a heroism common to the sterling women of New England in that day, gathered her little family about her and set herself steadily to their support. They shared in the remarkable industry of the people of New England at that time. In this home there was weaving and spinning, the braiding of straw for hats and in summer the work on the farm. The trade in the stores was almost entirely by barter and such a variety of activities and interests made it possible to utilize to the full limit the powers of every growing child. The usual



family life in New England was marked by a terrible intensity and such an ignorance of sanitary laws as carried off one member after another with appalling regularity.

But in a home thus busy with its demands, Rebecca Mann never forgot the grace and tenderness, the vigor and the beauty of life. She was a woman of remarkable power and unusual patience and sweetness of spirit. Silently and steadily she did her work, training her children in the fear of God and teaching them large views of truth and duty. In accordance with the spirit of the time, there was little outspoken affection, but the tender pressure of the hand and the eloquent glance of the eye spoke volumes, and between mother and son there was an increasing confidence and devotion. Mrs. Mann lived until all her children were grown and their affection for her and their recognition of her worth increased with the passing years. At last, when she died at the age of seventy-six, Horace Mann wrote:

"A memory full of the proofs of the purest, strongest, wisest love, is all that is left to me upon earth of a mother. So far as it regards this world, it is in retrospection only, in which I shall behold her—the retrospection only of a life in which she has always sought to make my comfort paramount to her own, and, amidst transient and casual circumstances, has invariably kept her eyes fixed upon my highest welfare. Death will not sanctify any of her precepts, her wise and judicious counsels, for they were sanctified and hallowed before.

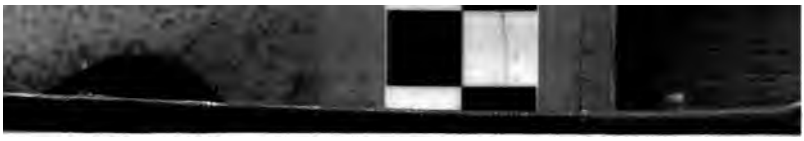
"It is now years since I have felt as though I were on the isthmus between time and eternity. I have long since left the earth but have not yet entered the world beyond it. Standing in this solitude between worlds,

my mother has passed by me; and how much the balance of the universe has changed! What a weight of treasure is added to the scale of the future! A wife and a mother; and such a wife! In that heavenly world I cannot conceive of her lips as glowing with any diviner smile nor her forehead as starred with a more glorious beauty. And such a mother! Were she to return to earth, how, how more devotedly than she has done, could she toil for the welfare of her children.

"I go to-morrow to perform the last rites, and probably I am to have a day, the like of which will never come to me again."

In the summer all the children worked industriously on the farm and in the winter they braided straw for the near-by hat factories, as did so many of their neighbors. This work should have brought them skill of hand and strength of limb, but the closeness of the times and the sore straits in which Mrs. Mann found herself, imposed upon them all a heavy burden of labor. Every spirit has its breaking strain; the signs which warn of danger are not few nor hard to read, but there is no escape from the pitiless confines, real or supposed, which drive many a one to exertion beyond his strength of body or mind. Youth is commonly supposed to be a time of strength, and so indeed it is, but not a few men come more dangerously near the breaking strain in youth than in the strenuous after-years. So it was with Horace Mann. As he reviews the days of youth, he breaks out:

"I regard it as an irretrievable misfortune that my childhood was not a happy one. By nature I was exceedingly elastic and buoyant; but the poverty of my parents subjected me to continual privations. I



believe in the rugged nursing of toil; but she nursed me too much. In the winter time I was employed in in-door and sedentary occupations, which confined me too strictly; and in the summer, when I could work on the farm, the labor was too severe, and often encroached upon the hours of sleep. I do not remember the time when I began to work. Even my play-hours—not play-days for I never had any, but my play-hours—were earned by extra exertion, finishing tasks early to gain a little leisure for boyish sports. My parents sinned ignorantly; but God affixes the same physical penalties to the violation of his laws, whether that violation be wilful or ignorant. For wilful violation there is the added penalty of remorse; that is the only difference. Here let me give you two pieces of advice which shall be gratis to you, though they cost me what is more valuable than diamonds. Train your children to work, though not too hard; and unless they are grossly lymphatic, let them sleep as much as they will. I have derived one compensation, however, from the rigor of my early lot. Industry or diligence became my second nature; and I think it would puzzle any psychologist to tell where it joined on to the first. Owing to these ingrained habits, work has always been to me what water is to the fish. I have wondered a thousand times to hear people say, 'I don't like this business,' or 'I wish I could exchange for that'; for with me, whenever I had anything to do, I do not remember ever to have demurred, but have always set about to do it like a fatalist; and it was as sure to be done as the sun is to set."

Every winter he and his brothers and sisters were sent to the neighboring school; only a few weeks, perhaps, but it served to keep them in touch with the life of the community and to keep alive the sacred fire of knowledge. The school was taught by some travelling teacher who paused to spend a few months

in the winter to increase his scanty hoard. These teachers were usually good people, but often had little skill in the art which they presumed to practice. The money expended for public schools in Franklin was in 1796 already $320, and had risen to $500 or $600 annually by the time young Horace was in school. This sum should have secured for Franklin good teachers. In later life Mr. Mann often complained that he was denied the privileges of a rational education; that his eyes were turned to books and away from the great lessons of nature which were all around him; and that the inner spirit had no chance for expression.

"I had an intense love of beauty, and of its expression in nature and in the fine arts. As 'a poet was in Murray lost' so at least an amateur poet, if not an artist, was lost in me. How often when a boy did I stop, like Akenside's hind, to gaze at the glorious sunset, and lie down upon the earth to look at the heavens! Yet with all our senses glowing and receptive, how little were we taught! Or rather, how much obstruction was thrust between us and Nature's teachings! Our eyes were never trained to distinguish forms and colors. Our ears were strangers to music. So far from being taught the art of drawing, which is a beautiful language in itself, I well remember that when the impulse to express in pictures what I could not express in words was so strong that, as Cowper says, it tingled down to my fingers, then my knuckles were rapped with the heavy ruler of the teacher, or cut with his rod, so that an artificial tingling soon drove away the natural."

This tall, wiry boy, with his nervous organization, drilled to the Puritan habit of repression; with his honest, thoughtful, grayish-blue eyes flecked with hazel; with his wonderfully winning smile, prophecy of that

luminous look which characterized his best hours in manhood—this boy was undergoing large preparation for his coming duties. No one ever knew how much he thought and felt, not even his mother; but the Guiding Hand was thus preserving him from the petty and the commonplace and surrounding him with conditions that were unconsciously working out those habits of spirit which made him the Horace Mann of history. It is true that he had no kindergarten with its songs and games; that he attended no high school with its four years' course; but he had the training of a New England farm,* and the blessings of a home in which the parents spoke the truth, kept the promises they made, feared God, loved their neighbors. They taught their children to do their duty, to love learning, to serve God. Horace Mann had not the endless variety of interests and impulses which belong to our complex modern life, but there were a few strong agencies of education at work upon him and his hour of vision was at hand.

Will the world ever recognize its debt of gratitude to the army of men and women whose souls have been baptized with the love of learning; whose eyes have seen the vision of truth; and whose hearts go out to children who are not their own in the spiritual parentage which marked the Great Teacher? Him they emulate day by day in bestowing upon their pupils a more abundant life. How subtle and wonderful is that touch by which a human spirit quickens another into life! Down through the generations, those who are

*Hall, "Boy Life in a Massachusetts Country Town Forty Years Ago," Pedagogical Seminary, June, 1906, Vol. 13, pp. 192-207.

older are passing to the children the quickening touch of the times in which they live. But here and there, a great teacher, born with the spirit of love and insight, hands to his pupils his own torch of knowledge, kindled at the celestial altar, to carry out and illumine the dark places of the earth! It is a high privilege, indeed, that comes to any student, when another spirit can set his own on fire, and acknowledgments are not wanting. There is the story of Garfield, who trod the ways of learning in magnetic touch with Almeda Booth; the story of Webster, quickened by a teacher whose name is now forgotten; and history tingles with the recorded touch of Emma Willard, of David Page, and of Thomas Arnold. With every touch a human soul awakened to higher things: and so the number of the inspired might be counted through the long list of philanthropists, scientists, philosophers and historians. The world is continually lighted up and led onward by the chosen few who have been kindled to a quenchless flame by another's glowing spirit.

Now and then a gifted teacher would find his way into Franklin. Such a one had arrived—the time of opportunity had come for Horace Mann! Samuel (John) Barrett, a traveling schoolmaster, strong in the ancient languages, in philosophy and literature, came to the district and opened a school.*

*"'Barrett was an eccentric genius, full to overflowing with the classics, which he could quote by the page, but ignorant of mathematics. He would keep school for six months on a most abstemious diet, and then travel in a drunken frenzy for the rest of the year.'

"So says the American Portrait Gallery. But John Barrett wrote the English Grammar, of which we have a copy. He was of Hopkinton, the grandson of the first minister, Rev. Samuel

Of some subjects he knew nothing, but he was a master in the classics and when Horace Mann met him, his mind, too, struck fire. In six months he prepared for the sophomore class of Brown University, having covered in that brief time, by prodigious study, Corderius, Aesop's Fables, the Aeneid, with parts of the Georgics and Bucolics, Cicero's Select Orations, the four Gospels, and parts of the Epistles in Greek, and parts of the Graeca Majora and Minora. In the beautiful September days Horace Mann found himself ready to enter Brown University. There was every reason why he should go there rather than to Harvard or to Yale. The current of travel was from Franklin toward Providence rather than toward Boston. His friends were there. Of the twenty-four young men of his community who are named as college students in the few years preceding, more than half had gone to Brown. Brown was the school for the self-respecting

Barrett, born 1759 and died April 4th, 1821. He was eccentric and wayward but hardly to the degree described above."—(Blake's History of Franklin, Mass.)

"A teacher with whom I partly fitted for college, Master Samuel Barrett, an itinerant schoolmaster, and a profound linguist," says Mr. Mann, "in hearing the Aeneid, the Select Orations of Cicero, and the Four Evangelists in Greek, never took either grammar or text-book in his hand, and he would have considered it an indignity if a pupil had offered him one, by which to set the next lesson. I know that this ability of his inspired one of his pupils, at least, with sentiments of respect toward him, with conceptions of excellence and with an ardor for attainment, such as all the places and prizes ever bestowed, and a life of flogging into the bargain, would never have imparted. I well remember that, when I encountered a difficulty, either in translation or syntax, and was ready to despair of success in overcoming it, the mere thought, how easy that would be for my teacher, seemed not only to invigorate my effort but to give me an enlargement of power, so that I could return to the charge and triumph."—Horace Mann, quoted in Loring's One Hundred Boston Orators.

and self-dependent young man. Such was Horace Mann and he sprang to his opportunity as do only those who have undertaken a work by the laying on of hands and the prayers of the saints. To him this opportunity came like the blessing of a sacrament.



CHAPTER II

IN COLLEGE

Horace Mann's was always a busy life. He made many journeys and was often far from home, but it is doubtful if any journey of his whole career was of greater importance to him and to his country than the short journey to Providence and the months he spent there as a member of the college community of Brown University.

The very word college is full of golden dreams; a halo surrounds the young man's head as he thinks of the glorious opportunity which this new experience will open to his life. And be the college large or small, opulent or meager in its appointments, the vigor of youth and the joy of his own young life will make it a marvelous educator and a moulder of life history. So Horace Mann found himself in a new world, where he might readjust his measurements, form his plans anew and set his life purposes. With the terrible Puritan intensity of New England, he entered upon his work in this center, determined to conquer its difficulties and to seize, in spite of opposition, the richest treasures of the mind.

In the peculiar state of his mind and heart, the free life at Brown was good for Horace Mann. The institution stood for that freedom of thought which Roger Williams had first planted in the Providence

Plantation, and which had been increasingly spread abroad among the people who call themselves Baptists. Teaching was still in the hands of the clergy and every man's belief was regarded as a suitable subject for discussion and examination on the part of his neighbors. Those who made the charter of Brown University had decided that it should be a liberal institution, in which no religious tests were to be required; but for all members there was free, full, absolute and uninterrupted liberty of conscience. All places in the University were free and open for all denominations, except the one place of college president.

Years before, Horace Mann had declared himself free from the bondage of religious dogma and now he was particularly fortunate in finding Brown the school he sought.

When Brown University, first called Rhode Island College, was founded, the country was still in its infancy. Shelter must be sought against the storms of a rigorous climate. Subsistence must be raised from a soil not over fruitful; forests must be cleared; and fences and roads made. The hundred things incidental to a new settlement pressed sorely upon the people.

These demands were so keen and so urgent that there was little time and less means for books. Scarcely was the enterprise started when the Revolutionary War swept over the people and left them even poorer than it found them. Nearly all the sons of the richer class went naturally to Harvard or to Yale, these being better equipped seats of learning. Rhode Island College must find its students among the small traders, mechanics and farmers, and for them the college must put its terms of entrance, its courses of study and its



rates of charges on a scale lower and less expensive than that demanded by the richer institutions.

Besides, it was generally believed that, for the purposes of practical life, an education at Brown was better than one at Harvard. The Department of English, with its studies of composition and oratory, was held in high esteem among the people. The students trained at the University under Dr. Messer were distinguished for habits of thought and self-reliant investigation, tempered with conservative good sense. For these high qualities and liberal sentiments they were largely indebted to the far-reaching, independent and well-balanced mind of the President. Besides these advantages, the two literary societies in the college had won a reputation almost equal to that of the institution itself. These societies were composed of undergraduates and had large and valuable libraries. Much reading was done here. There were frequent meetings for practice in debate and for the reading of compositions. The useful arts of writing and speaking were largely cultivated and were held in high estimation by all. The successful debaters went forth to instruct society in what they had already learned under the influence of their fellows in the college world.

With such opportunities and advantages, who can doubt that Horace Mann went to the institution which afforded the very best training for his peculiar cast of mind and for his future work? Brown was necessarily engaged largely in the diffusion of elementary knowledge and this resulted in a kind of mastery of the material studied, hardly to be found in an institution having a wide range of subjects. But the best endowment of its students was their inflexible purpose, their great

endurance and the consecration of their native ability to their chosen work. The early students of this institution were not *sent* to school. The spirit of such a body of men, with their youthful enthusiasm, their high ambitions, and their sincere devotion to culture and power, made *them* the real educators in that institution of learning.

Dr. Messer was called to the Presidency of the college in 1802. Under his strong and economic hand, the institution steadily grew in resources. He gave the best education that he could and made it as inexpensive as possible. In equipment, the institution would have fallen short of many of our best high schools, but in moral purpose, in determination to make the most of its opportunities, and in the great fellowship of strong and earnest young men, bent upon the achievement of life purposes, Brown University was really a great school. To this institution Horace Mann came with a mind at white heat from the kindling influence of his inspiring teacher, Mr. Barrett.

The subjects opened to him in college were like new wine, and he toiled terribly. His alert mind was continually finding new incitements to activity, and he went at his college education as if it were all to be gained in a single year. There was no escape from the penalty. He had been accustomed to a greater degree of outdoor life, and now denying himself exercise and devoting himself to his books with the passion of a young scholar, there is no great wonder that he taxed beyond the limit a body much overworn. At the end of the year, he had a severe sickness from which he rallied just in time to begin his work at the opening of the new term. Nearly all the colleges of New England

were organized on the plan of a long vacation in the fall and winter that the students might earn money for their schooling the remainder of the year, and Horace Mann served his time teaching school in these vacation periods. The unremitting toil of vacation and college days won for him great standing, but it injured his health to such a degree that he called himself a "life-long invalid."

The student days were hard ones for Mr. Mann and his family. He wrote to his sister:

"If the children of Israel were pressed for 'gear' half so hard as I have been, I do not wonder that they were willing to worship a golden calf. It is a long, long time since my last ninepence bade good-by to its brethren; and I suspect that the last two parted in no friendly terms, for they have never since met together. Poor wretches! never did two souls stand in greater need of mutual support and consolation For several weeks past I have been in a half delirious state on account of receiving no intelligence from home, when this morning I met at the door of my boarding house Mr. J. F. H.——— only *two weeks* from Franklin! I would have shaken hands with the 'foul fiend' himself if his last embassy had been to that place. For a good part of the time I have been trying the experiment with respect to money which ended so tragically in the case of the old man's horse."

The life was hard, but even in his student days it was necessary to make some allowance for Horace Mann's rhetorical extravagance of statement.

But the days were not all dreary. The young man was given to wide and rich thoughts and to good-fellowship. Room 30 in University Hall, occupied by himself and Ira Barton, afterwards Judge Barton

of Worcester, was the gathering place of the college students. There came Holmes with his quiet ways, his incisive words and his mildly critical spirit; there came Fisher with his devotion to religion and his spirit of argument; and a score of others who later became leaders in state or nation. The authorities at Brown still show with pride the black rocking-chair, with padded head-rest, in which Horace Mann so often sat, with his face beaming and kindly, and now and then a half roguish smile about his lips, sending forth those shafts of wit and repartee which even yet are held in rich remembrance in the traditions of the college. The room was marked by such mirth and cheer that young Barton often wished his room-mate was a little less witty and popular. But as letters from his college friends testify, there were many deep and earnest discussions; questions of moment for the growth of liberty and for the advancement of the country, were discussed with a seriousness and an insight that promised well for later days. One is reminded of the meetings held in the little room in Cambridge by Tennyson, Hallam and their confreres, all of whom afterwards became famous in the English realm.

Horace Mann became at once a member of a literary society, the United Society of Brothers, and entered into the study and discussion of the great questions of history, government and philanthropy,—topics which made so large a part of his later career. We find among his papers those treating of the separation of Church and State, Freedom of the Press, Love of Fame, and American Genius. His paper on European Politics draws lessons of value for the American citizen and announces his firm faith that this land is the haven of



the oppressed and the last stage for the drama of human liberty. In other papers he discusses the place of Immigration, the Uses of Genius and Application, and with the spirit of a true son of Massachusetts he magnifies the blessings of New England, which he finds first among the sections of the Union. He writes on Foreigners in the United States, on Books, on the Good Offices of Passion, on the Study of Mathematics, on Revenues. Throughout the papers that he wrote during his college days there is steady improvement and a growing tendency to deal with large questions in a dignified and masterful way.

An admirable note-book in English history remains to us from his college days. It is arranged with special reference to the growth of English liberty. Horace Mann was not a historian by nature, for his mind turned to principles rather than to facts, but in this study he marshalled his material so wisely that it afforded him, in later public life, an abundance of that knowledge which he used with such telling effect. Chiefly through the wisdom of his teachers he was led into a course of study which stated the beginnings of the great developments and noble aims of culture of which we are the direct inheritors. We too little realize the value of English history in the education of an American citizen. The American boy who has studied the growth of British liberty in its beginnings has gone far on that highway which makes him strong and wise in the cause of human freedom at home.

Now and then he found time to deliver a lecture before his society; or in harmony with the half-moody style of his temperament, he wrote of the Spirit of Melancholy, which he calls "The Destroying Angel."

It requires no great stretch of the imagination to see this young man in his little college room, with bare floor and ill-covered table, seated by his study lamp, writing a poem to this goddess, who has blighted the lives of so many young men who have deprived themselves of a full measure of food and exercise.*

Mr. Mann entered college in an advanced class and carried his course with interest and enthusiasm. His preparation in the languages had been excellent. A

*THE DESTROYING ANGEL.

When sunk the parent soul of light
 Beyond the western flood;
And the broad firmament of night
 In sullen darkness stood;
Tears, which the pitying heavens distilled,
 Cold against my casement fell,
And the howling of the wind
 Seemed like a demon's yell.

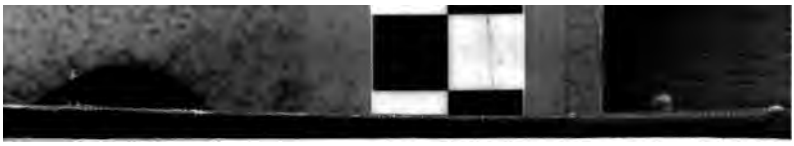
Soon seven-fold darkness spread abroad,
 Veiled Nature's loveliest form;
And the destroying angel strode
 Along the rolling storm.
With sudden dread my soul was sear'd,
 I shook at Nature's ire,
And panting, with my hollow reed
 I blew my scanty fire.

I would have fled—no vigor fired
 My limbs that nerveless hung;
I would have shrieked—the sound expir'd
 Upon my moveless tongue.

.

There danced the choir, and spirits damned
 Athwart my eyes did pass;
Pale Famine shook me by the hand,
 Death showed his empty glass.
Long was that night; strange was the pain;
 And thoughts, O how unholy;
My God! send not that night again,
 That demon, MELANCHOLY.

PROVIDENCE, *March* 1, 1821.



class-mate wrote of him: "I never heard a student translate the Greek and Roman classics with greater facility, accuracy and elegance." He also excelled in the exact sciences.

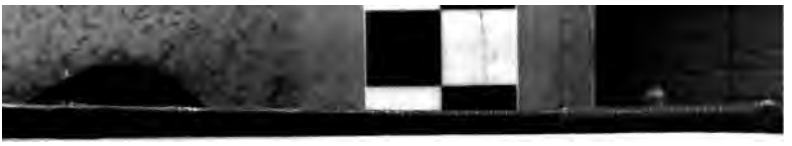
It is a great revelation to a young man when he discovers that the world is under law; that the thousand things which he sees about him every day without noting their relationship are all parts of a world under law, with the relations of antecedent and consequent. As this great lesson sweeps into his consciousness, he comes to feel that this world is a kingdom of order rather than an abyss of chaos. The early months at Brown brought this revelation to Horace Mann. There were at Brown a few men with inspiring spirits and the hunger for knowledge. These unfolded to him the secrets of knowledge and inspired him with new ideals of the possibilities of human life and effort. But their actual teaching was less valuable than the freedom which they gave to thought and the hopeful mental attitude and activity which they encouraged.

The atmosphere of Brown was to his mind like the warm rains and sunshine of the Spring-time, which called forth every living germ. He felt the responsibility of this new freedom and conducted himself with unusual circumspection. Among his papers are those against infidelity and irreligion, and he even pronounces with special vigor against novels and fiction. He and his room-mate, young Barton, often attended the revival services in connection with the institution. In their journals are found entries which indicate an approving attitude of mind, though they never seem to have been swept into the full current of the religious life of the school. It is probably true that Horace

Mann, was, while at Brown, a believer in the deism of Cicero, though it must never be forgotten that he was essentially a Puritan with the spirit and motives of the Puritans. In practical morality he held steadily to the best things, but he seems to have been too busy with college duties and the struggle to maintain himself to think out any reasonable belief as to the nature of God.

His life in college did not differ greatly from that of scores of other young men, ambitious, thorough-going, intensely in earnest, who must secure an education at their own expense. He worked too hard, denying himself food and sleep, but continued in his effort for an education until the college training was finished. His whole course was marked by devotion to truth and a thoroughness in the mastery of individual lessons which went far to put his knowledge in useful form for later life. In his college days, more than in any other period of his life, he came near to his fellow men and was often to be found in the rooms of those who were suffering or discouraged. But his joyous spirit, his scholarship, and his rather wide outlook on life, for one of his years, gave him an unusual influence with his companions.

Horace Mann was always alert to practical opportunities and demands. There came a time when the students wished to celebrate the Fourth of July in the Chapel, but the college government forbade such a celebration. A majority of the students were disposed to resist this decision. Horace Mann had been chosen the orator of the occasion, and when the students assembled in a body, marched to the Chapel and forced the door, he went in and delivered his oration amid



great applause. A trifling fine was imposed upon him, but he seemed to lose standing neither with his fellow students nor with the college officers. Usually his influence went for law and order. His ideals of behavior were high and his hope for the improvement of man was boundless. His graduation address was on the progressive character of the human race and bore the title, "The Gradual Advancement of the Human Species in Dignity and Happiness." And all his life long, he gave his best powers to achieve and establish the ideals of this early effort.

To the choice of his life work, Mr. Mann had already given much earnest thought.

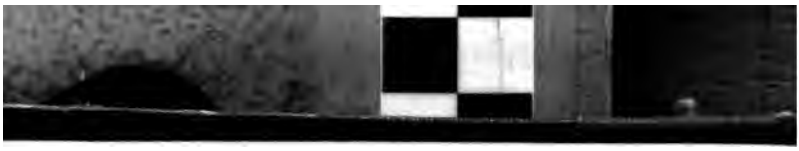
Before the Revolution, the ministry was the dominant profession in all sections of the country, and the leader of men turned to the Gospel field as naturally as a born warrior seeks the sword. But in the days of the Revolution, the ministers, bound by the ties of the mother church and the mother country, were slow to see the chances of the Revolution, and in the struggle which later became so successful, they lost in influence and effectiveness. This was the opportunity for the ascendency of the lawyer, and in the very nature of things his preparation and his attitude of mind led him to become the dominant factor in public affairs. Questions of government were continually coming to the front and he, who had the legal turn of mind and was able to think along governmental lines, was prepared for the needs of the day. "The secret of success is for a man to be ready when his opportunity comes," and this maxim is equally sound when applied to all needs and organizations of men.

Horace Mann's religious views would not warrant

him in entering the ministry, then one of the foremost callings in New England, but the spirit of leadership was stirring within him and gave a hundred evidences of the power which was to shape measures and found institutions. Moved by these impulses, and limited by his religious opinions, it was perfectly natural that he should seek to realize all his ambition in the new realm of activity in which the lawyer held the scepter. And in so choosing, he cast his lot with a profession which has steadily been increasing in influence in public affairs. Since law plays so large a part in society, he who voices the law, who is its interpreter, must stand in the front as a leader in social organization; the one to direct the movement of its uplifting forces. For a hundred years the lawyers have been the leaders of the nation. How helpless we should have been, as a people, without the grants, limitations and distributions of power which law recognizes and lawyers interpret!*

But the lawyer is not a mere interpreter; he is legislator, judge, and executive.. His is not merely the brain which controls; it is the brain which guides, inspires and brings things to pass. But the leadership does not depend upon the mere name of lawyer. It must be found in the alert brain, in the equipped mind, and remains with him only while he shows himself

*"The lawyer is evermore the leader in society and this leadership is not accidental nor enforced, but natural and resulting from his relation to society. Law is the mystic force which binds society together, and he who voices the law and gives its interpretation, will stand strong in the front as a leader in social organization. In all the years of our national existence, the lawyer has been the universal leader in civil and political affairs." —Justice Brewer, Proceedings of American Bar Association, 1895.



worthy to lead. On such leadership, Horace Mann had decided to enter.

Some weeks before the college term closed, he entered his name as a student with Hon. J. J. Fiske of Wrentham. Immediately after the commencement, he went to the law office of his tutor and there began the study of the great department of human knowledge which was to have so large a place in forming his mind and directing his activities. But he had only fairly begun his studies, when there came to him an invitation which was greatly to modify his future.

Dr. Messer, the President of Brown University, was a generous, practical man. His heart went out everywhere to alert, energetic young men, and early he turned to Horace Mann with a special interest, though with a somewhat remote and cold dignity. Mann had done excellent work and his brightness and devotion and steadfastness had won the good Doctor's hearty approval, but it was always expressed in the stately ways of those times. Horace Mann was considered with favor for the place of tutor at Brown. Dr. Messer wrote him in the following style:

> BROWN UNIVERSITY, January 1, 1820.
> MR. HORACE MANN, Studying Law at Wrentham.
> Sir:
>
> As we now need a tutor, I wish to enquire, whether you are willing to become one? and, if so, how long you would be willing to remain one? I request you to send me, as soon as you can, answers to these questions; and hoping that they may be such as will secure an appointment, I remain,
>
> Very respectfully, your friend,
> ASA MESSER.
>
> P. S. The salary this year will be at the rate of $375 a year; and it will commence at the commencement of service.

Horace Mann carefully considered this proposition, but he was already deeply interested in law and at first declined the invitation. A second note from Dr. Messer forced the matter upon him. Other friends wrote, urging him to accept the place, and moved by the desire to free himself from the debts incurred in completing his college course, he wrote as follows:

WRENTHAM, Feb. 9, 1820.

Dear Sir:

The renewed instance of your regard, as evinced in your communication of the 3d instant, demands a renewed expression of my gratitude. I did not adopt the conclusion expressed in my former letter without deliberation. It was the result of a view of my circumstances which are somewhat peculiar, and consequently imperatively demanded consultation. This consultation led me to the adoption of that opinion, wholly contrary to my inclinations, because I thought it was sanctioned by my judgment.

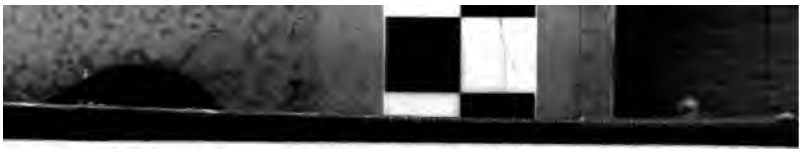
But the kind regard you were pleased to show for my welfare, in your last favor, has had no inconsiderable influence on my feelings, and it is out of deference to your better opinion, that I am induced to alter mine.

It is with reluctance that I accept the appointment, when I consider the arduous duties that will devolve upon me. My exertions, however, shall be directed to vindicate your responsibility in my appointment, and all that I can do is to hope that my exertions may be so successful as to show that your confidence has not been too injudiciously misplaced.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my regard and esteem,

HORACE MANN.

REV. ASA MESSER, D.D., LL.D.



His work as a tutor was highly satisfactory, exceeding in vigor and adaptation the usual college instruction.

"He now devoted himself most assiduously to Latin and Greek, and the instruction given to his classes was characterized by two peculiarities, whose value all will admit, though so few have realized. In addition to rendering the sense of the author, and a knowledge of syntactical rules, he always demanded a translation in the most elegant, choice and euphonious language. He taught his Latin classes to look through the whole list of synonyms given in the Latin-English dictionary, and to select from them all, the one which would convey the author's idea in the most expressive, graphic and elegant manner, rendering military terms by military terms, nautical by nautical, the language of rulers in the language of majesty and command, of suppliants by words of entreaty, and so forth. This method improves diction surprisingly. The student can almost feel his organ of language grow under its training; at any rate, he can see from month to month that it has grown. The other particular referred to, consisted in elucidating the text by geographical, biographical and historical references, thus opening the mind of the student to a vast fund of collateral knowledge, and making use of the great mental law, that it is easier to remember two or even ten associated ideas than either of them alone.

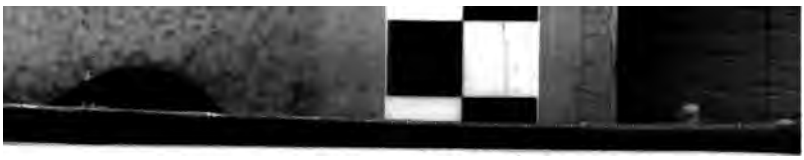
"Though liberal in granting indulgences to his class, he was inexorable in demanding correct recitations. However much of privation or pain the getting of the lesson might cost, it was generally got as *the lesser evil.* One day a student asked the steward of the college what he was going to do with some medicinal preparation he had. 'Mr. So and So,' said the steward, 'has a violent attack of fever, and I am going to give him a sweat.' 'If you want to give him a sweat,' said the inquirer, 'send him into our recitation room without his lesson.'

"While in college Mr. Mann had excelled in scientific studies. He now had an opportunity to improve himself in classical culture. A comparison of the two convinced him how infinitely inferior in value, not only as an attainment, but as a means of mental discipline, is heathen mythology to modern science; the former consisting of the imaginations of man, the latter of the handiwork of God."*

Some men establish the habit of success; with them, one undertaking after another is so carefully planned and so vigorously carried forward that its success is won in spite of obstacles. All their doings have the touch of victory. It was so with Horace Mann. As a student he had been uniformly successful in his studies and had taken the highest honors of the college. As a tutor, he came to his new position with diffidence, but he did his work with such vigor and ability that the results fulfilled the highest expectations which had been aroused.

There were some discordant elements in the institution which made residence there unpleasant for all the members of the faculty. This had weight with Mr. Mann, but most of all, he felt that his highest work was to be found in his chosen profession and for this he determined to prepare. Friends had written glowing accounts of Judge Gould's brilliant instruction in the Law School at Litchfield, Connecticut, and Horace Mann resolved to set his face in that direction.

* Livingston's American Portrait Gallery.



CHAPTER III

IN LAW

Litchfield was a name to conjure with. Here had been stored the supplies for the Continentals in the Revolution. Here the statue of George III, torn down at Bowling Green by the loyalists of New York, had been broken up and melted into bullets, that "the patriots might send to the deluded subjects of George III a message of leaden majesty." Here had been confined the Tory Mayor of New York. Here had been imprisoned Gov. Franklin of New Jersey, to the last a Tory and a vigorous opponent of the policy of his gifted father, the friend and champion of the colonies. It was a center for eminent men. Governors and statesmen, lawyers and teachers, physicians and commanders, were brought up in this little town to captain the activities of the rising nation.

Here was founded in 1786, by Judge Tappan Reeves, the first law school in the country, and one that for many years had turned out classes of well-trained men for practice at the bar. Judge Gould, successor to Judge Reeves, developed and extended the course of instruction, which is thus announced in the catalog of the law school:

"According to the plan pursued by him, the law is divided into forty-eight titles, which embrace all its important branches, and of which he treats in systematic detail. These titles are the result of thirty years of

severe and close application. They comprehend the whole of his legal reading during that period, and continue moreover to be enlarged and improved by modern adjudications. The lectures, which are delivered every day, embrace every principle and rule falling under the several divisions of the different titles. These principles and rules are supported by numerous authorities and are generally accompanied by familiar illustrations. Whenever the opinions on any point are contradictory, the authorities in favor of each doctrine are cited and the arguments advanced by either side are presented in a clear and concise manner, together with the lecturer's own view on the questions. In fact, every ancient and modern opinion, whether overruled, doubted or in any way qualified, is here systematically adjusted. These lectures, thus qualified, are taken down in full by the students, and after being compared with each other, are generally transcribed in a more neat and legible hand. The remainder of the time is occupied in examining the authorities cited in support of the several rules, and in reading the most approved authors upon those branches of the law which are, at the time, the subjects of the lectures. These notes, thus written out, are, when completed, composed in five large volumes which constitute books of reference, the greatest advantage of which must be apparent to every one of the slightest acquaintance with the comprehensive and abstruse science of law. The examinations, which are held every Saturday upon the lectures of the preceding week, consist of a thorough investigation of the principles of each rule and not merely of such questions as can be answered from memory without the exercise of the judgment."

The school was in the zenith of its reputation under Judge Gould, when, in 1822, Horace Mann enrolled himself as a student. The tuition fee was one hundred dollars for the first year and sixty dollars for the second. Burgess, a friend and former school-mate, writes:

"Dec. 10, 1821.

". Litchfield is in fact the place to make a lawyer. Everything is legal and subordinate to the study of law. Law is the prevailing fashion. The minister will pray for you as the law directs. The merchant will cheat you as the law directs. The students will get drunk according to the precise letter of the statute in such case made and provided. There is not a girl in town, who has not read enough law to understand, and in some cases to practise, on the doctrine of entails and inheritance as consequent thereupon.

"Judge Gould lectures an hour and a quarter each day. There is no point in law, however intricate, which he does not make clear as light. He is a complete lawyer and logician. He leads the mind gradually along by his argument, until it arrives at full, clear and satisfactory conclusions."

There were two societies formed for the students; one for the discussion of law questions, the other for important miscellaneous topics. Students throughout applied themselves closely, and though many were the sons of rich men, they spent but little money. The number of students was about twenty in summer and thirty in winter.*

Horace Mann had already established the habits of a student and his course at the law school was not less satisfactory than at college. With the most pains-

*The Litchfield Law School was, from the first, a celebrated institution, and at the time of its close in 1833 the number of students had been 1024, every state in the Union having been represented. Of this number, 16 became United States Senators; 50, members of Congress; 40, judges of higher State courts; 8, chief justices of States; 10, governors of States; 5, cabinet officers (Calhoun, Woodbury, Mason, Clayton and Hubbard); 2, justices of the United States Supreme Court (Henry Baldwin and Levi Woodbury); 1, Vice-president of the United States (John C. Calhoun); and several, foreign ministers, among whom was Hon. John Y. Mason, Minister to France.

taking care, he took full notes on every case presented, giving ample time for digesting the main principles, and then writing out the case in full. His notes on the work covered in the law school make four large volumes of closely written matter.*

Judge Scott reached the law school in the summer of 1822 and thus speaks of his gifted fellow-student:

"Mr. Mann's massive brow and high arching head did not then tell me what a great intellect was indicated, but his mild bright eyes and the pleasant expression on his eloquent mouth told of geniality and mirthfulness. It was therefore easy to believe what was told me by the students, that he was the best fellow and the best wit in the office; but not before I formed his acquaintance was it credible to me (what I was also told) that he was the best whist-player and the best scholar and the best lawyer of the school.

"In our moot courts, held weekly, the question of law to be discussed was proposed the preceding week by Judge Gould; and four students, two on each side, were detailed to discuss it; the judge, at the close of the arguments, summing up and giving the grounds of his judgment at length. The arguments of Mr. Mann were distinguished by the clearness—I might say the transparency—of the distinctions, and the fullness and the pertinency of the analogies brought to the support of his position. On one occasion, when the side he sustained was opposed to the decision of the judge, previously written out, it was the general opinion of the school that Mr. Mann made out the best case. And of this opinion seemed to be the judge; for, after reading the arguments to sustain his decision, he proceeded to reply to some of the points made by Mr. Mann, and, as we thought, with some exhibition of improper feeling of wounded self-esteem.

* Now deposited in the Library of the Historical Society at Dedham.

"I parted with Mr. Mann at Litchfield with the full conviction that his was to be one of the great names of our time, whether his clear and fertile intellect should confine itself—as was not probable—to the law, or to any other one department of human knowledge. The only drawback to the realization of such a destiny seemed to be the lack of physical vigor compared with the immense development of his nervous system, especially his cerebral organs. His rich, nervous temperament had, however, something of that wiry nature (such as I have heard Mr. Mann attribute to Mr. Choate) which gave the muscular and vital functions, as well as the mental, great capacity for endurance."

Mr. Scott evidently had pretty fully tested the "rich, nervous temperament with the wiry nature," for in 1848 he writes to Horace Mann, then in Congress:

"If you will let your recollection wander back to the summer of 1822 and place you in the back room of Judge Gould's office (constituting then the office and dormitory of the present Senator Smith), you may remember one, Scott, who then and there laid you on your back, and with the aid of Senator Smith's bed, tore your coat back up to the collar. Since then you have been working out great good to mankind and great fame for yourself. Your luminous track has never ceased to engage my attention and elicit my admiration."

After something more than a year of devoted study, he left Litchfield and entered the office of Hon. James Richardson of Dedham, who was class poet at Harvard in 1797, a fine thinker, modest, reverent and gentle in mind and manner, but possessing much strength of character. He was an untiring student of literature, with special devotion to the writers of the age of Queen Anne. His written language is marked by purity,

grace and beauty of form, and abounds in noble and exalted sentiments, reflecting a pure and noble life. To men of this character, Horace Mann gravitated as the needle to the pole.

In 1823, Mr. Mann's reading of law was finished and in December of that year he was admitted to the bar. With a desire to be near Boston and build upon his acquaintance in Dedham, he decided to establish himself at that point. But the citizens of Dedham had early been averse to the lawyers, as shown by the following instructions sent to their representatives at the General Court in 1786:

"We are not inattentive to the almost universally prevailing complaints against the practice of the order of lawyers; and many of us too sensibly feel the effect of their unreasonable and extravagant enactions. We think their practices pernicious and their mode unconstitutional. You will therefore endeavor that such regulations be introduced into our courts of law and that such restraints be laid on the order of lawyers, as that we may have recourse to the laws and find our security, and not our ruin, in them. If, upon a fair discussion and mature deliberation, such a measure should appear impracticable, you are to endeavor that the order of lawyers be totally abolished; an alternative preferable to their continuing in their present mode."*

Thirty-seven years had wrought a change and his friend Burgess writes to this effect:

"Do you mean to put up your shingle in Dedham? The land of the North is at best an unfertile soil for our profession, but perhaps there is no place in New England better calculated for a young lawyer than Dedham, provided he intends ultimately to remove to the 'literary emporium.'"

*Mann's Historical Annals of Dedham.

Clients were slow to come, but Horace Mann gave himself to the study of the principles of law and found, throughout his legal practice, that his mastery of these had given him an unfailing capital on which to draw in time of need. His preparation for every case was earnest, painstaking, and conscientious. Indeed, he carefully examined every case offered and made it a rule to accept only those cases which he believed to be just. This principle, to which he gave life-long allegiance, is clearly stated in his Baccalaureate Address at Antioch College in 1857:

"If ever the scales of custom and habit fall from the eyes of the community, they will see that the unscrupulous and ever-ready defender of malefactors is himself the greatest malefactor in society. His evil spirit is omnipresent, promising to screen the offender; and when the old forms of indictment charged the culprit with 'being moved and instigated by the wiles of the devil,' the literal meaning of that phraseology was that he was thinking of some lawyer who would save his neck. The evil spirit of such a lawyer is present whenever confederates league together, shaping their plans to commit the offense, yet escape conviction. He muffles the step of the burglar on his midnight errand of plunder; he whets the knife of the assassin; he puts a lighted torch into the hands of the incendiary."

This course soon had its effect on Mr. Mann's career, and for him to appear as a lawyer in a case was at once proof that he regarded it as just. It is recorded that he gained the decision of the jury in more than three-fourths of the cases which he undertook, and this he always attributed to his care in selecting those cases

which seemed to him right and into which he could put his whole effort.

"He held that an advocate loses his highest power when he loses the ever conscious conviction that he is contending for the truth, and that though the fees or fame may be a stimulus, yet that a conviction of being right is in itself creative of power, and renders its possessor more than a match for an antagonist otherwise his superior. He used to say that in this conscious conviction of right there was a magnetism; and he wanted only an opportunity to be put in communication with a jury in order to impregnate them with his belief. Beyond this, his aim always was, before leaving any head or topic in his argument, to condense its whole force into a vivid, epigrammatical point, which the jury could not help remembering when they got into the jury-room; and by graphic illustration and simile, to fasten pictures upon their minds, which they would retain and reproduce after abstruse arguments were forgotten. He endeavored to give each one of the jurors something to be 'quoted' on his side, when they retired for consultation. He argued his cases as though he were in the jury-room itself, taking part in the deliberations that were to be held there. From the confidence in his honesty, and those pictures with which he filled the air of the jury-room, came his uncommon success."

In 1852, a young lawyer wrote to Mr. Mann, then a member of Congress, touching his chosen profession. Mr. Mann thus responded:

"WASHINGTON, July 23, 1852.

"My dear Sir:—

"Your kindly expressed note of the 17th inst. finds me with head and hands full of occupation. But I can never turn away from a young man asking me for a word of counsel, any more than I could from a drowning man. To save a fellow being from death is a small thing. To save him from error, a great one."



Then, after some counsel on the care of his health and on the value of phrenology, Mr. Mann set forth his fundamental doctrine with reference to the practice of law.

"You say you have devoted yourself to the profession of Law. It is a noble profession. The common law, as contra-distinguished from statute law, has its deep foundation in morals. Some base materials have been wrought into it by rude hands, during a long period of darkness and semi-barbarism; but it is still a noble structure. The questions which its true high priests perpetually ask are, What is equitable? What is just? What is right? This profession, in all ages, has turned out the ablest and truest men;—not because the ablest and truest men go into it, but because its discipline, its incitements, and its training create them.

"In practising your profession, always seek for principles and make precedents bend to them; never the reverse. Never espouse the wrong side of a cause knowingly; and if unwittingly you find yourself on the wrong side, leap out of it as quickly as you would jump out of a vat of boiling brimstone, should you accidentally fall into one. It is utterly amazing to me how a man can trifle with his own mind. I do not mean, now, his mind considered as a part of his immortal self, but his mind, considered as the mere instrument with which he works. If you destroy the celestial temper of that instrument, can you expect ever to restore its keenness again? It is impossible. What would you think of a poor barber who should batter the edge of his razors against flint, as preparatory to shaving? Well, that would be wisdom—wisdom ten times distilled,—compared with the man who would wear off the edge of his conscience against known error. When we think it so grievous a misfortune to lose the natural eye, how can we be indifferent to blinding the moral eye, without whose light the whole body is full of darkness? To tell a single lie is held

dishonorable. What is known sophistry but a series of lies?—a procession of them—which the false reasoner marshals and marches to their vile work? I would rather be at the head of Falstaff's soldiers than to have my name go down in the law books attached to any argument which any fair-minded man could believe to have been insincere.

"I well know, for I have often heard, what the old lawyers say about its being right to defend a known wrong side. I deny it all and despise it. If a bad man wants such work done, he shall not have my soul to do it with. I should not like to catch the small-pox, but that would be a tolerable disease rather than to let a scoundrel inoculate me with his villany. Because he has committed violation Number 1, shall I commit violation Number 2, to secure impunity to him by means of what is called a Court of Justice, which impunity, of course, is violation Number 3, brought about by the wrongful use of his money, and the prostitution of my faculties?—

> "'This above all,—to thine own self be true,
> And it must follow, as the day the night,
> Thou can'st not then be false to any man.'

"I can never read, nor even think of Lord Brougham's opinion about the duty of an advocate to his client, without recoil and shuddering. It is not merely unworthy of Christianity and civilization; it is unworthy of heathenism.

"'An advocate,' says he, 'by the sacred duty which he owes his client, knows, in the discharge of that office, *that client and none other.* To save that client by all expedient means,—to protect that client at all hazards and costs to all others, and, among others, to himself—is the highest and most unquestioned of his duties; and he must not regard the alarm, the suffering, the torment, the destruction which he may bring upon any other. Nay, separating even the duties of a patriot from those of an advocate, and casting them if need be to the wind, he must go on, reckless of the conse-



quences, if his fate it should unhappily be, to involve his country in confusion for his client's protection.'*

"Now, in the first place, is it not so plain that a burrowing, blind mole must perceive it, that when an advocate avows such doctrines to begin with, no man will be simpleton enough to heed a word that he says? Every man knows that there is no more truth in him, than there is piety in the machine of an East Indian priest, which grinds out prayers by the turning of a crank. Then, again, what greater check to wrong-doing could there be, than that every wrong-doer should know that he could find no brother wrong-doer to defend him? Suppose a rogue, or a cheat, or a villain of any dye, should go the rounds of all the Inns of Court, or to every lawyer's office in Boston, or New York, and on exposing the foul demerits of his case, should see every advocate turn away from him in indignation and disgust; would it not be a ten-fold heavier sentence than any fine or imprisonment a court could inflict upon him? Does not the hope of being successfully defended encourage multitudes to offend? If so, then, to borrow the language of the profession itself, is not the profession an accessory before the fact, a *particeps criminis*, in the commission of all such crimes? The successful defense of criminals whom the defenders have known to be such, and who have afterwards been proved to be such before the whole world, has done much to bring the administration of justice into disrepute. All chicanery not only injures the reputation of the chicaner, but what is a thousand times worse, it injures his own faculties, so that he can no longer defend innocence or denounce guilt as he otherwise could have done.

"Perhaps I ought to make a qualifying remark: Every intelligent man, in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases in every thousand, is his own lawyer, and needs no

* Lord Brougham's Works,—Speech for the Queen, Vol. 7, p. 105.

adviser. In ninety-nine of the next hundred cases, an intelligent counsellor knows what the law is, and, so far as his client is concerned, can stop litigation. In forty-nine of the next fifty cases, the highest court has no doubt about the law, and its decisions are unanimous. A small residuum remains about which the courts disagree. In many civil suits, also, it is of great importance to have an established and uniform rule, but of no apparent consequence which way it is established. So in multitudes of cases, from the different representations which hostile clients make to their respective counsel, each one may undertake the case, believing himself to be on the right side; and, when not convinced in the course of the trial that he is on the wrong side, he may conscientiously leave the decision to the court and jury. And so, in criminal cases, if an advocate has reason to suppose that his client has committed an offence, but a different one from that of which he is accused, he may perhaps show the fact to be so; this being, however, the extremest verge to which he can go. There is no civil justification for convicting a man of one offence because he has committed another; as a Connecticut jury, when horse-stealing was a capital offence, and man-slaughter punished by imprisonment for life, in order to avoid the greater penalty, in the case of the culprit, who was indicted for stealing a horse, is said to have brought him in guilty of *man-slaughter*.

"I recollect having once drawn a writ, and after it was entered in court, and became so far a matter of record, I had a doubt about the sufficiency of a statement on a single point. I asked a brother lawyer in confidence whether he thought the writ to be abatable or demurrable on that account. 'Why don't you alter it?' he whispered to me, 'nobody will ever know it.' 'But I shall know it myself,' was my spontaneous reply. This anecdote, whose egotism, if it has any, you will pardon, will explain what I mean.

"But it is getting very late, and I really am not well

enough to sit up longer; so with good wishes for you as for a brother—for although I never saw you or heard of you before, you are one—I bid you farewell.

"HORACE MANN."

"Soon after he became a resident of Dedham, its citizens formed a large and most influential temperance society. He was elected its president, and wrote a vigorous address to the public in behalf of its objects. When first chosen a representative to the General Court, he broke in upon the custom, until then uniform in town, of 'treating' the electors after the election was over; but lest his conduct should seem to spring from improper motives, he gave for charitable purposes a larger sum than the treating would have cost."*

He identified himself strongly with the public interests of the town, and was soon established as a leader among the active citizens, zealous for the cause of good government. He was chosen as the orator of the day for July Fourth, 1823. His oration consisted of an exposition of the leading principles which then constituted the basis of the government of the Old World, that these, by contrast, might lead to a fuller recognition of the liberties and privileges of the New.

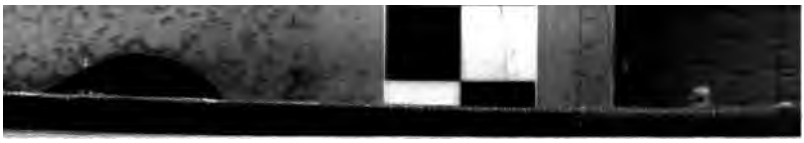
But he had never forgotten his friendship and experiences in the home of Dr. Messer. For years he carried in his heart the image of the Doctor's daughter, Charlotte, whom he had known first as a girl of ten; and who through all these years had stimulated him to greater effort, and established more firmly his best and highest ideals. She was a character of rare beauty, a beauty radiating from choice qualities of heart and mind. In 1830, his college debts were paid; he had established himself as a citizen of Dedham; had en-

*Livingston's American Portrait Gallery, page 196.

tered into a comfortable practice of the law. Thus he found himself in a position to realize the dream which he had cherished from his college days at Brown. One must read his most intimate letters of that period to realize the deep sense of responsibility and the high aims with which he made the new home. All his arduous labors were lightened by his young wife's sympathy, and his plans for relieving the woes of society quickened and widened by her aid and approval. He found in her a womanly purity and sweetness, a wisdom and a kindness which seemed boundless and which revealed to him the boundless depths of the human soul.

Years after, he thus writes of his wife:

"During that period, when, for me, there was a light upon earth brighter than any light of the sun, and a voice sweeter than any of nature's harmonies, I did not think but that the happiness, which was boundless in present enjoyment, would be perpetual in duration. Do not blame my ungrateful heart for not looking beyond the boon with which heaven had blessed me; for you know not the potency of that enchantment. My life went out of myself. One after another, the feelings which before had been fastened upon other objects loosened their grasp, and went to dwell and rejoice in the sanctuary of her holy and beautiful nature. Ambition forgot the applause of the world for the more precious congratulation of that approving voice. Joy ceased its quests abroad; for at home there was an exhaustless fountain to slake its renewing thirst. There imagination built her palaces and garnered her choicest treasures. She, too, supplied me with new strength for toil, and new motives for excellence. Within her influence there could be no contest for sordid passions or degrading appetites; for she sent a divine and over-mastering strength into every generous



sentiment, which I cannot describe. She purified my conceptions of purity, and beautified the ideal of every excellence. I never knew her to express a selfish or an envious thought; nor do I believe that the type of one was ever admitted to disturb the peacefulness of her bosom. Yet, in the passionate love she inspired, there was nothing of oblivion of the rest of mankind. Her teaching did not make one love others less, but differently and more aboundingly. Her sympathy with others' pain seemed to be quicker and stronger than the sensation of her own; and, with a sensibility that would sigh at a crushed flower, there was a spirit of endurance that would uphold a martyr. There was in her breast no scorn of vice, but a wonder and amazement that it could exist. To her, it seemed almost a mystery; and, though she comprehended its deformity, it was more in pity than in indignation that she regarded it; but that hallowed joy with which she contemplated whatever tended to ameliorate the condition of mankind, was, in its manifestations, more like a vision from a brighter world, a divine illumination than like the earthly sentiment of humanity. But I must forbear; for I should never end were I to depict the revelation of moral beauties which beamed from her daily life, or attempt to describe that grace of sentiment, that loveliness of feeling, which played perpetually, like lambent flame, around the solid adamant of her virtues."

This revelation of her nature led Mr. Mann to realize himself as never before.

"He was brilliant in conversation, with sparkling repartee, gushing wit, and a merry laugh, given to droll sayings, but free from nonsense. He was original, refreshing, and exciting, because he treated even trifling subjects in a manner peculiar to himself. He had a great power to draw out other minds; even the timid would rise from conversation with him,

wondering at the talent, thought and feeling which he had opened up to them. He had exquisite tenderness and care for the feelings of others, a delicate appreciation of woman's nature, and a high estimation of her capabilities, although shrinking from the assumption on her part of any place in the social world for which she was unfitted. He had a keen love for the beautiful, and was quick to recognize the qualities which give elevation to character. He was a radiant man, full of sprightly wit and genuine mirthfulness which brightened his whole atmosphere."

The coming of Charlotte Messer was a great event in the little town, and by her genius and grace and rare social tact, the home of Horace Mann soon became second to none in social power. This not only established his standing in society in a way which was ever afterwards retained, but it gave him such happiness as he had never before known, a happiness which kindled his spirit and quickened his faith until he recognized his Heavenly Father as a Being of goodness, beauty and love. Charlotte Messer was his first love, and he gave himself to the affections of this new life with the tremendous intensity of his highstrung, ardent nature. She needed his most delicate care, and that he gave without measure.

But these bright years were not to last. Her frail form could not stand the strain of life. As the body failed, the spirit grew more radiant; but the last night of July, 1832, he stood by her bedside as the life flickered to its close. From eleven until two o'clock, the ravages of death went on, and in these hours of early morning, a darkness settled upon him which years could scarcely remove. He was smitten too sore for words. All the old gloom and doubt from his days of



religious difficulty returned. His nature, always sensitive, now was stirred and pained by even the shadow of a reproval. The delicacy of treatment which his state of mind required is apparent in the letter of Dr. Messer:

PROVIDENCE, Aug. 22, 1832.

My dear Son,

Mr. Gay has just brought us the trunks and chair of our dear Charlotte. They, though we are exceeding glad to receive them, have covered us with a flood of tears. I am sorry indeed that any circumstances in my late letter should have excited in you painful sensations. The thing which you suppose did not enter my mind. By saying that I hoped all the furniture might go to your personal comfort, I meant that whatever part of it you might not retain for your own use might still, by being changed into something else, subserve that very comfort; and that, as we hardly know how to have some part of it in any hands but yours or our own, we wished for them to make such arrangement that we might, as far as we can now recollect it, carry into effect the *will* of our dear daughter; fully assured that her will would, in the highest degree, secure your personal comfort. At any rate I say solemnly that respecting the subject of that letter I have as implicit, unconditional, absolute confidence in you as I have or can have in any person on earth, not excepting the affectionate though greatly afflicted father of Charlotte M. Mann.

ASA MESSER.

P. S. I pray you, my dear Horace, take care of your health. Go about, and give yourself abundant exercise. Last year, perhaps this year, Judge Story buried an interesting daughter. The affliction was overwhelming. Some time after, a friend asked the Judge why he worked so hard. He answered, "I must, or die." May

God Almighty bless you! Mary and Caroline send their love. They want you to come and see us. Mamma also sends abundant love. Mary will write before long. The will of Charlotte we intend to execute as far as we can ascertain it. It, with me, is now as sacred as it would be if expressed in the form of law. I will shortly give some specifications.

A. M.

On every anniversary of her death, Horace Mann shut himself away in his chamber and lived again in a kind of wild and mad devotion the scenes of that troubled night; and on the morning after, he came from the chamber like one spent in his struggle with the fell destroyer. On the fifth anniversary of her death he writes:

"The preceding days have passed without my making an entry in this journal. Sometimes one thing and sometimes another has led to the omission; the main reason, however, has been that except upon one subject, I have nothing in particular to record, and on that subject I have felt unable to give my feelings even this private utterance. But the night, this fated night has come, and again is visibly present before me that scene of anxiety, of dismay, of struggle and of death, and of the agony of the surviving, worse than a thousand deaths, through which, five years ago to-night, I passed. And what a hurrying away of myself, as though I had been rapt away by demons, was there, to the center, as it seemed to me, of universal darkness. Oh! what months and years of gloom and solitude I have passed through. The heavens have been rayless of a single beauty or glory. The sun has shone in mockery. Returning spring has only deepened the contrast between my spirit and the renovating world. I suppose this is not religion; I suppose it is not even philosophy. But it was an inevitable and necessary



result of such an event, falling upon such a man. My love for my dearest wife had grown just as much as if that object had been infinite, for I saw no bounds to her purity and truth and affection, and therefore my passion swelled on from day to day, recognizing renewing excellences and renewing proofs, gathering to perfection. When engrossed with business, how would my mind steal away to look for a moment over her lovely image. Whenever, moved by any pleasure, how was it, in the instant, doubled by the thought that I should repeat it to her. When the work of the day was done, how cheerful and glad was the light that shone from the window, as I returned to her society; how tender and affectionate was her greeting; what hallowed light she shed around my house; how clear was her perception of truth, as though she saw it in the transparency of heaven's light; how quick her sympathies for everything that suffered; her duty, her love, her religion seemed the same unerring instinct, directed to different objects. All this I saw, I felt, I knew in my inmost heart. It was this to which all the powers of my nature devotedly turned, and I never dreamed that it would come to an end. But suddenly, in the hour of fullest possession and certainty, it vanished, and withered away, all that I cared and hoped for in life. I loved success, but it was because it increased my means of adding to her enjoyment. I loved distinction, but it was only that I might see the light of the pleasure which it gave to her, as, half expressed, it gleamed through every feature of her face. If I had done aught of good, my reward did not consist in the gratitude that it awakened, but in the pleasure it gave her. Thus, no plan, no scheme, no purpose was resolved on, until the thought of her had been at the council, and my heart grew fastidious and refused enjoyment that did not come to it, refined, purified and heightened through her enjoyment. Who then can know the entirety, the completeness, the universality of that loss? My nature has felt it,

through all its capacities for suffering. The clock strikes *eleven*. It was about the hour as I watched o'er her and sought to relieve her distress, that signs of mental alienation became visible and sank as dismaying omens upon my heart. The two hours which followed, until the struggle was over, and the hours that followed the close of that struggle till morning, yes, and the days and years that have since passed so slowly away, have been full of a history of suffering such as no mortal pen can ever record. But they *must* terminate. To that end, distant or near—still distant, however near—I must look. Every anniversary brings me nearer to it."

When she was dead and buried, it seemed to him that he had stepped into a realm of rayless night. His friends feared for his reason. They cherished him, counseled him, and attempted to divert him. Loring, who had been his class-mate at the Litchfield Law School, wrote:

"August 25, 1832.

" Take to your heart the consolations that Charlotte has left you and realize, my dear friend, the state of mind which she would wish you to be in—the feelings and thoughts which she would wish you to have and encourage, and then, for her sake, in continuation of the love which blessed her life, that she witnesses now, be steady-minded and sustained.

"Good-bye, Mann, my heart aches now and I can't write. God bless and keep you."

E. G. L.

His early friend, Silas Holbrook, offered him tender sympathy and brought him more real comfort than any one else. With long effort and deep sacrifice, he won Horace Mann back to the thought of life and duty.



All friends agreed that Horace Mann should go to a new home. The question of location was between Taunton and Boston. Loring, eager to do everything possible for his friend, urged him to come to Boston, setting forth the merits of that location thus:

BOSTON, Monday, [No date] 1832.

My dear Friend,

Since we last parted, I have very carefully revolved in my mind all the matters mentioned between us, and my mind remains as it was declared to you; it has altered only the degree of its conviction. If I restate what I said before, it is only to give you in a tangible and visible form the considerations that stand strong, bright and without shadows in my own mind.

Your happiness depends on your intellectual and moral growth. Is not then the city the place for you? Limited excellence abides, by the law of nature, with a limited expanse of action. In a country bar, there can be but one of Plutarch's men, and he must encounter and suffer and be subjected to the envy, the ignorance, the selfishness, the littleness, moral and professional, the nameless petty treasons against all nobility of nature which belong to the kennels of earth. In the city, a hero is among heroes. They are all around him, those who appreciate his powers and his virtues; who exult in the excellence that is like their own, and in the strength that is fit for their noble action, and which they neither fear nor envy nor slander. Such men are bulwarks to a noble reputation. Will not the society of such men, not only in the strictly social sense of that word, but in all senses, will not communion with them in professional matters, in political matters, in plans of usefulness to the community you live in, in plans for more extended philanthropy, be to you the only things in life that can fill your soul? Will it not be better

than your experience at Dedham with men of manners?

Your furtherance being greater in a city like Boston, your resources will be best accumulated, and the years will find you here richer, intellectually and morally; exercising wider influences and laying up every day more deeds, thoughts and feelings to pillow your old age upon, than a life in Taunton can give you. It will find you richer in purse too—a thing very essential at all times, and peculiarly fit "to accompany old age." A few years will see you at the extent of all things in Taunton, as you are now in Dedham, and what then will your resources be—to rust?

It is not for the immediate feelings of your heart that you should sacrifice those things which can give tranquillity to your future years, but even here you have friends and will make friends whose sympathies will be always strong and quick.

You know how I have always been situated with regard to C. G.; that I have received from him almost like a gift the best things I have of heart and head and worldly circumstances. When considering my own part of my proposals, I felt that I ought to consult and inform him of my purposes; that if I did not he would feel, not that his right had been interfered with by my self-action, but that his affections and interest in me had been disregarded. I regretted that I had not thought of mentioning it to you before, but as that was too late, I went and conversed with him yesterday.

First, on your coming to Boston as a matter of new policy distinct from all considerations of feeling or connection with me—he said strongly you should be here. Then I mentioned our proposed connection. He said, "Without a doubt," and discussed and grew stronger in the opinion that it was the best thing for both of us that we could do in relation to the practising of our pro-



fession with happiness and profit (on the supposition that you came to Boston). I mentioned your fear of being unequal. He said, as I said, and for the same reason, that such fears were groundless; that the excess of benefit for the first few months would be of no actual importance or worth, and that after that there could be no such fear; and he agreed with me that for myself, I should be an abler and better and happier lawyer and man. So, my friend, you need not fear of intruding on so slight a matter as my practice.

Yours ever,
E. G. L.

Such a proposition was particularly fortunate at this time for Mr. Mann. Mr. Loring was just the type of man to incite him to renewed interest in the various philanthropies and reforms of the time, and he had that gentle nature, that friendship, and whole hearted sympathy which Horace Mann needed, not now and then, but every day. A partnership advantageous to both was formed between them. Mr. Loring was a man of noble ideas and elegant manner. It was said that he helped to make anti-slavery fashionable. He hated all vileness, was devoted to goodness, and loved his friends fervently and steadfastly. The tie between himself and Mr. Mann was for many years a very close one, and in the long period when Horace Mann lived in rooms in their office building, he was a regular Sunday guest at the home of Mr. Loring.

In the greater and different life, he found some diversion, though he seemed to nurse his woe and to pride himself in a certain dreary devotion to the one who had gone. His whole system had undergone a fearful stroke in this eclipse of the object of all his

affections, and he wandered on the border without a star of hope. Even the demands of the living could call forth only a conventional and superficial response.

Mr. Mann was distinctly a power in the world, and his relation to it in all periods of his life save one seemed to be that of a man made for public service. But his first love, finding its culmination under conditions so beautiful and happy, had made him an idolator at the shrine of his domestic bliss. The passing from earth of the radiant spirit which he loved and adored was like the disappearance of the light of the sun or the withdrawing of a mighty ocean that lays bare the shores of a continent; his nature was left dark and dry and desolate.

Meanwhile he went back and forth about his daily duties, living with good conscience and inspired by great principles and devoted to high ideals, but in the sacredness of his own chamber, preserving and encouraging his sorrow which could not be entirely healed even by the master physicians Time and Silence.

In Boston, where he was already a man of mark, he soon had a lucrative practice, and in the larger field, rendered larger service to his country. In speaking of his ability in later years, Senator Hoar called Mr. Mann an excellent lawyer, and it is generally agreed that he followed his chosen profession with rare strength, skill and devotion. The brilliancy of his mind, the known honesty of his purposes, and his own supreme confidence in the rectitude of his intentions, made him a tremendous advocate in every case in which he engaged.

Even the most independent character is largely modified by environment. A man's close association



with his fellows gives direction to his thoughts and temper to his mind. In spite of Horace Mann's reserve and the cloud of sorrow which for years hung over him like a pall, his life was greatly modified by his associates. Most important were his legal friends, and in these he was fortunate. Judge Gould was a man of remarkable urbanity, considerate and courteous in speech, and gracious in manner. He was a strikingly handsome man, and for graces of manner and gifts of mind was much sought in social circles. To Judge Richardson's excellent taste and wide acquaintance with literature, Horace Mann doubtless owed something of his range and beauty of literary style. Both Richardson and Loring had a beautiful and elevating influence on their gifted friend, and the incitements of their friendship led him still further in the noble and philanthropic endeavors toward which his mind naturally tended. The kindly nature of Mr. Loring found much satisfaction in introducing Mr. Mann to the leading intellectual people of Boston. Loring's many friends were given every opportunity to come in contact with the man who had a part in his business and whom he loved like a brother.

With Horace Mann's quick interest in public affairs and general devotion to the public good, there is little wonder that he was early chosen a member of the legislature, and in the twelve years of his legal practice, he, from time to time, was called to lay aside his legal duties to pay the larger general service to the state.

CHAPTER IV

IN THE LEGISLATURE

In America we have two theories in regard to the legislator. The first is that he is the representative of his constituents. In this capacity, he receives instructions from them and carries out in his speeches and votes those things which they hold in greatest favor. The other conception of the legislator makes him a governmental expert, wise beyond most of his fellow citizens in the theory of government and expert in the application of these theories to the difficult work of legislation. In 1827, Horace Mann was elected, as representative for the town of Dedham, to the General Court of Massachusetts. While he gave deference to the opinions of his constituents, he was never, in his capacity as representative, less than a governmental expert.

Any interpretation of Horace Mann's work in the legislature must be founded upon his philosophy of society and of government. He believed that the state exists to give every one who acts in union with others, what he could not have alone; to protect the weak and to restrain the strong; to make such laws, regulations and restrictions as shall make it easy to do right and hard to do wrong.

But the state was to be not only corrective; it was to be constructive in the highest sense. Anything that



would make man more efficient, without restricting his individual liberty, Mr. Mann held as within the province of the state.

His first speech in the Massachusetts House of Representatives was in favor of religious liberty. For many years, the legislature of that State, together with the decisions of the Supreme Court and an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, had tended to put all religious opinions on a footing of entire equality before the law. As a result of this action, a scheme had been projected for the creation of estates in a kind of mortmain, vesting them in a corporate body of trustees, perpetually renewable by itself,—that is, a close corporation,—and limiting the income of the property forever to the support of a particular creed, or set of doctrines. Thus might the hand of a donor, dead for a thousand years, in time to come reach from the grave and so use his money or his property as to bind the religious thought of a people living in a new time. Horace Mann was too well read in the ecclesiastical history of Europe, especially in that of England, not to recognize this as an attempt to transfer one of the worst institutions of the dark ages into the nineteenth century. He was one of the youngest members of the House. This was his first term. Similar charters of incorporation had been granted within the two or three preceding years; another had been reported by the appropriate committee, and there was no sign of opposition. Opposition from him, therefore, might well seem desperate; and an attempt to thwart the purposes of the most powerful religious body in the state would have been deemed by time-servers an act of useless hardihood and recklessness. Horace Mann

knew but one course—to go directly and do the thing which he felt ought to be done. When the bill came up, Mr. Mann arose. Earnestly and solemnly he laid down the great principles of religious freedom and exposed the injustice of carving out and setting aside any portion of the property of the earth, and determining by law what particular religious creed or doctrine that property should be made the instrument of upholding through all future time. He showed it the very essence of bigotry, at all times and in all nations, to arrest religious progress and to petrify religious opinions where bigotry happened to find them. The result was decisive; the bill was rejected, never again to appear in Massachusetts.

Mr. Mann's second speech was in behalf of railroads at a time when they were neither understood nor appreciated. There was so much confusion of thought on the subject that it was predicted that the road desired would ruin all the small towns in the vicinity of Boston. One of Mr. Mann's intellectual endowments was far-sightedness, and he saw clearly the future needs of the community. Railroads have constituted one of the great civilizing agencies in almost every community. Those who have followed the building of these roads have noticed the increased acreage brought under cultivation, the better buildings, the improved highways, indeed, all the signs of a rapidly advancing civilization. It is the backwoods community, the shut-in locality, that has always represented in society the state of arrested development. Railroads increase the cost of living in a community, but they multiply the resources from which that additional cost is to be met. Mr. Mann was gifted with



that economic insight which made him able to recognize this condition, and he early planted himself on the side of internal improvements, though few of his time and station were well enough acquainted with economic laws to see the wisdom of this action.

See Mr. Mann in the House; he is active, painstaking and conscientious. He is early appointed on a committee to report rules for the House. He takes strong ground in urging a resolution "which will excite to greater diligence our members of Congress in the collection of a claim against the general government." He is chairman of the Judiciary Committee and reports "a bill for mitigating, in certain cases, the penalty for the crime of arson, burglary and larceny." He reports a bill for the regulation and restriction of the rights of public houses with reference to the sale of liquor. He opposes a bill to reduce the representation in the Lower House of the Legislature. Seeing that a bill incorporating the Franklin Railroad is little understood, he asks that it may be deferred in order that due time may be given for consideration. By the expiration of a franchise, a certain bridge will, in a few months, come into the possession of the Commonwealth, and he urges that steps shall be taken to insure the Commonwealth against the loss of the toll from this bridge.

As he sits in the House one day, amid the general carelessness of the members who neglect to acquaint themselves with the bills on which they vote, he springs to his feet and protests against the practice of rushing measures through the House without due consideration, and severely censures those members who neglect to examine the measures on which they vote.

Early Horace Mann became a leading member of the House. He held places on important committees and took active part in the discussion of all important questions. Matters pertaining to public credit and education and whatever involved the principles of civil and religious liberty were sure to find in him a ready and an earnest champion. His voice was always lifted in behalf of the poor, ignorant and unfortunate classes of society. He worked steadily, wisely and persistently for the advancement of the temperance cause in the legislature and out. He took a leading part in carrying through the stringent laws which greatly restricted the traffic in lottery tickets. He had all faith in the power of government to make men moral by law, through education and legislation. His was a strong moral nature, and he stood aggressively and vigorously for all the popular movements which would check immoral ideals or practices. His fiery devotion to principle led him into many an extreme denunciation of the men and the measures which violated his moral judgment. He was not always careful to distinguish between honest men who held views which he regarded as false and men who were traitors at heart, selling themselves against the interests of their country. Indeed, for a man to stand for any cause which Horace Mann believed to be wrong, led him at once to count that man as his enemy, and subject him to the most withering scorn and sarcasm at his command. His skill in this direction was marvelous, and the persistency with which he used such weapons was beyond all telling. He held himself to the highest moral standards and never meant to allow low aims to have a place in his life. Still, in



the heat of controversy or in the excitement of political discussion, he denounced men who, in the light of these later days, may well claim a morality not less high than his own. But this supreme confidence in himself and this sublime enthusiasm with which he came to the advocacy of every cause to which he was committed, constituted his greatest source of strength.

His greatest work of this period was the establishment of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, the first in the United States. The steps taken to compass this result are illustrative of his methods in bringing about all reforms. For two years a report had been before the legislature, detailing the sad condition of the insane lodged in the various jails and poorhouses of the Commonwealth. This report had come into Mr. Mann's hands, and he at once undertook to make it effective. He talked the matter over with the various members of the House, and as far as possible placed them in a favorable frame of mind toward the enterprise. He wrote letters to various prominent men of the State and interested them in this philanthropy. He, in the most careful manner, collected statistics and details, derived from the reports of the various towns; having gathered all this material, he worked it into a masterful address, bristling with facts and figures and illustrations. This he delivered with powerful effect; then he offered his resolution.

A leading member of the legislature characterized the measure as a project of boyish enthusiasm. Mr. Mann put it on the humanitarian basis, and on this ground urged it so strongly that all who opposed were compelled to apologize for their attitude and explain that they were not opposed to the movement itself,

but only to undue haste in considering so important a question. The motion to recommit was carried and delay followed, but Mr. Mann, acknowledging no defeat, steadily agitated the question, studied the situation like a general, and marshalled in numbers the moral forces of good old Massachusetts in support of the measure. His skill in presenting a case is well illustrated by the cumulative nature of his argument before the legislature:

"Mr. Mann, of Dedham, requested the attention of the House to the number, condition and necessities of the insane within this Commonwealth, and to the consideration of the means by which their sufferings might be altogether prevented or at least assuaged. On reviewing our legislation upon this subject, he could not claim for it the praise of policy or humanity. In 1816 it was made the duty of the Supreme Court, when a grand jury had refused to indict, or the jury of trials to convict any person, by reason of his insanity or mental derangement, to commit such person to prison, there to be kept until his enlargement should be deemed compatible with the safety of the citizens, or until some friend should procure his release by becoming responsible for all damages which, in his insanity, he might commit.

"Had the human mind been tasked to devise a mode of aggravating to the utmost the calamities of the insane, a more apt expedient could scarcely have been suggested; or had the earth been searched, places more inauspicious to their recovery could scarcely have been found.

"He cast no reflections on the keepers of our jails, houses of correction and poor houses, as humane men, when he said, that as a class they were eminently disqualified to have the supervision and management of the insane. The superintendent of the insane should not only be a humane man, but a man of



science; he should not only be a physician, but a mental philosopher. An alienated mind should be touched only by a skilful hand. Great experience and knowledge are necessary to trace the causes that first sent it devious into the wilds of insanity; to counteract the disturbing forces, to restore it again to harmonious action. None of these requisites could we command under the present system.

"But the place was not less unsuitable than the management. In a prison little attention could be bestowed upon the bodily comforts and less upon the mental condition of the insane. They are shut out from the cheering and healing influences of the external world. They are cut off from the kind regard of society and friends. The construction of their cells often debars them from light and air. With fire they cannot be trusted. Madness strips them of their clothing. If there be any recuperative energies of the mind, suffering suspends or destroys them, and the recovery is placed almost beyond the reach of hope. He affirmed that he was not giving an exaggerated account of this wretched class of beings, between whom and humanity there seemed to be a gulf, which no one had as yet crossed to carry them relief. He held in his hand the evidence that would sustain all that he had said.

"From several facts and considerations, he inferred that the whole number of insane persons in the State could not be less than five hundred. Whether five hundred of our fellow beings, suffering under the bereavement of reason, should be longer subjected to the cruel operation of our laws, was a question which no man could answer in the affirmative, who was not himself a sufferer under the bereavement of all generous and humane emotions. But he would for a moment consider it a mere question of saving and expenditure. He would argue it as if human nature knew no sympathies, as if duties imposed no obligations. And in teaching Avarice a lesson of humanity, he would teach it a lesson of economy also.

"Of the two hundred and ninety-eight persons returned, one hundred and sixty-one are in confinement. Of these, the duration of the confinement of one hundred and fifty is ascertained. It exceeds in the aggregate a thousand years—a thousand years during which the mind has been sequestered from the ways of knowledge and usefulness, and the heart in all its sufferings inaccessible to the consolations of religion.

"The average expense, Mr. Mann said, of keeping these one hundred and fifty in confinement could hardly be less than $130,000 for such a time; and calculating five hundred years for the one hundred and forty-eight at large, the average could hardly be less than $52,000, which with the $130,000 would give the total $182,000; adding to this their entire earning power in health of a dollar a week, each would result in $234,000 lost to the State by the infliction of this malady alone; and this estimate is predicated of only two hundred and ninety-eight persons; returned from less than half the population of the State.

"Taking results, then, derived from so large an experience, it was not too much to say that more than one-half of the cases of insanity were susceptible of cure, and that at least one-half of the expense now sustained by the State might be saved by the adoption of a different system of treatment. One fact ought not to be omitted, that those who suffer under the most sudden and violent access of insanity were most easily restored. But such individuals, under our system, are immediately subject to all the rigors of confinement, and thus an impassable barrier is placed between them and hope. The malady, too, is confined to adults almost exclusively. It is then, after all the expense of early education and rearing has been incurred, that their usefulness is terminated. But it had pained him to dwell so long on those pecuniary details. On this subject he was willing that his feelings should dictate to his judgment and control his interest. There are questions, said he, upon which the heart is a



better counsellor than the head—where its plain expositions of right encounter and dispel the sophistries of intellect. There are sufferers among us whom we are able to relieve. If, with our abundant means, we hesitate to succor their distress, we may well envy them their incapacity to commit crime.

"But let us reflect, that while *we* delay, *they* suffer. Another year not only gives an accession to their numbers, but it removes, perhaps to a returnless distance, the chance of their recovery. Whatever they endure, which we can prevent, is virtually inflicted by our own hands. Let us restore them to the enjoyment of the exalted capacities of intellect and virtue. Let us draw aside the dark curtain which hides from their eyes the wisdom and beauty of the universe. The appropriation proposed is small—it is for such a charity insignificant. Who is there, he demanded, that, beholding all this remediable misery on one hand, and looking, on the other, to that paltry sum which would constitute his proportion of the expense, could pocket the money and leave the victims to their suffering? How many thousands do we devote annually to the cultivation of mind in our schools and colleges, and shall we do nothing to reclaim that mind when it has been lost to all its noblest prerogatives? Could the victims of insanity themselves come up before us, and find a language to reveal their history, who could hear them unmoved? But to me, said Mr. Mann, the appeal is stronger, because they are unable to make it. Over his feelings their imbecility assumed the form of irresistible power. No eloquence could persuade like their heedless silence. It is now, said he, in the power of the members of this House to exercise their highest privileges as men, their most enviable functions as legislators; to become protectors of the wretched, and the benefactors of the miserable."

The leading paper of the State records: "We have not heard a speech during the session which seemed

to occupy more of the individual attention of the House than Mr. Mann's."

He was finally rewarded by seeing the enactment of a measure which placed $30,000 at the service of a commission to establish a hospital at Worcester. Of this commission, he was made chairman. He recognized his accountability and so managed this large expenditure that the institution was built without over-running the appropriation. No liquor was allowed on the premises, and the whole building was completed without an accident to any of the workmen. Dr. Woodward, a man eminent in mental diseases, was chosen as superintendent for the hospital, and such was the excellence of the administration and so great the alleviation of human misery that all thoughtful citizens of Massachusetts would well agree with Dr. Howe, who, when returning from New York to Boston through Worcester, turned to his bride and pointing to the great hospital building, said, "There is Horace Mann's monument."

While Horace Mann had carried forward, chiefly on his own responsibility and by his own efforts, the bills for the establishment of this asylum, he was so fortunate as to have associated with him in the building and equipping of the institution Bezaleel Taft, Jr., and W. B. Calhoun. These were men of excellent judgment, great perseverance, and of benevolent taste and habits, and the support which they rendered in this enterprise was worthy of the highest recognition. In speaking of them Mr. Mann always accorded to them a large share of credit for the part they bore in the administration and maintenance of the institution, and he held himself and the Commonwealth



greatly the debtors of that prince of mental healers, Dr. Woodward, who became the first superintendent of the institution and carried forward this work with such unusual devotion, skill and success. Mr. Mann's regard for Dr. Woodward appears in his letters written at various times, and particularly in his letter written when Dr. Woodward had been invited to take charge of the Utica Hospital and sought Mr. Mann's advice with reference to changing his field of labor:

"BOSTON, Jan. 8, 1839.

". It is impossible for me to express to you how much the realization of what you intimate would grieve me—not for my own sake—that though a great deal is nothing—but for the sake of all that class of afflicted persons, in this and in other States, now suffering or hereafter to suffer, over a part of whom, but for the benefit of all, it has been your lot, like a beneficial power to preside. I have looked upon you as a man prepared and designed to be an agent in administering a part of the mercies of God to mankind—not made for himself or for any circle even of the dearest friends, but for the race, and not to leave his sphere of usefulness, until in the course of nature, he should be called from it. Few have seen more of your labors—none have appreciated them better—than I have. I well know that it was utterly impossible for us—for any body—to make you a requital; they have been services for which there is no requital save in the heart and in the future. They are not, therefore, to be measured by any common standard; nor are they to be taken up, or laid down, for reasons applicable to the common concerns of life."

To a friend he later wrote:

"When I tell you what has been done for the Hospital at Worcester, you will be superstitious and exclaim,

'It has had an angel!' Dr. Woodward's salary has been raised six hundred dollars; which will be the means, I think, of securing his valuable services for some time longer. The Legislature has appropriated ten thousand dollars (I write the words instead of the figures, lest you should think I have mistaken in the matter of a cipher) to finish the buildings, so that, when done, they will accommodate, say, two hundred and thirty; seven thousand dollars for the purchase of land, so that our inmates can enjoy the advantages of agricultural employment, which we regard very highly; and three thousand dollars for a chapel, where the oil of religion may be poured in a flood over the ocean of insanity; and eight thousand dollars to meet the current expenses of the institution. All this was done without a single audible murmur of opposition; nay, with the greatest apparent cordiality toward the hospital. Besides this, the Senate has empowered its clerk to republish all the reports of the institution in one volume, together with other papers, as he may see fit, with an ad libitum authority, as to the number of the edition. Enough will be printed to be distributed liberally in every state, and also to send to Europe. Ah! I never thought of this when, in 1839, we stormed the dungeons of inhumanity. The outer gates are broken down; and some of the captives are coming forth every day to enjoy the light and the beauty of the physical, and the holier light and beauty of the moral, universe; yet here in this midnight silence as I write, I hear from their more interior cells, as audibly as if it were the voice of the thunder-cloud, the voices of the many victims, awaiting in unconsciousness the day of their deliverance."

Dr. Woodward continued in charge at Worcester and not the slightest misunderstanding ever arose to mar the relation of these friends, united in the alleviation of human suffering.



"After the chapel was added to the Hospital, when that large and motley assembly, many of whom needed confinement and watching at other times, sat quiet and orderly during divine service, with no other check than their own associations with the scene, and the calm penetrating, blue eye and majestic brow of Dr. Woodward, who always looked as he sat or stood by the side of the clergyman like Jupiter Benignus, it was a great pleasure to Mr. Mann so to time his visits as to enjoy the wonderful spectacle, and feel the blessed reflex influence distil drop by drop upon his own heart. He was personally beloved there also, and his presence always had a salutary influence."

In all the philanthropy with which Mr. Mann was connected, he looked far enough into the future to provide for such a representation of the interests involved as should recommend the enterprise to the judgment, consciences and sympathy of the people. His co-laborers in the establishment and maintenance of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital united with him in a series of reports which sustained with increasing confidence the administration of this noble public philanthropy. These reports contained a statement of the condition of the institution, its general equipment, the number of inmates with the state of their health, expenditures, in detail and by items, for the maintenance of the institution, and tables analyzing the whole body of patients with respect to cause and duration of insanity, probability of recovery, and, where history of the case could be given, the final result was recorded. Most valuable was the method devised by Dr. Woodward for setting forth the conditions in individual cases, which may be illustrated by the following examples:

(1) One case, reported by the Commissioners for the erection of the Hospital, had been, when he was brought to the Institution, twenty-eight years in prison. Seven years he had not felt the influence of fire. Many nights he had not lain down for fear of freezing. He had not been shaved for twenty-eight years, and he had been provoked and excited by the introduction of hundreds to see the exhibition of his raving. He is now and has been in comfortable health, well-clad, keeps his bed and room remarkably clean, and although very insane on certain subjects, is most of the time pleasant, companionable and entirely harmless and docile. He shaves himself twice a week, sits at table with sixteen others, takes his meals, walks to the village and over the fields with an attendant and enjoys himself as well as his illusions will permit. This man committed homicide.

(2) An old man of seventy years of age or more had been chained for twenty-five years, and his chain taken off but once in that time; has for months been very quiet and civil and behaves like a gentleman, and although quite insane, keeps his room in good order and takes his meals at table with seventeen others with the utmost propriety.

(3) This man, a mechanic, had been in close confinement for six years. He committed homicide, and if this institution had not been erected would probably never have been permitted to leave his cell. He is now a useful mechanic, labors a great portion of his time; often reads his Bible and the public papers; is exceedingly happy that this place has been provided for him, and blesses its founders and conductors daily for the benefits conferred on himself and the

other inmates. He walks abroad and often attends church.

With such examples to sustain this philanthropy, there is little wonder that no legislature ever refused a request made for appropriations by Mr. Mann and his co-laborers to carry on the institution.

About this time a great struggle was on between the friends of temperance and their opponents. A letter from Loring to Horace Mann in Dedham gives evidence of the public confidence in Mann as a temperance reformer:

"BOSTON, Nov. 12, 1833.

". Holbrook says you are the coming representative. For my own part, I am glad of it, but you will have a stormy time. Much is expected of you. The few honest, wise, moral people depend upon a steady, unflinching and able defense of the principles of the License Law, against a ferocious and reckless opposition, and you are before the House and the public as the champion of sobriety and morality and public virtue, and god-father to the statute.

"Then the reduction of the House and the amendment of the constitution, the opposition to George Blake's act, and the support of the district system, is a matter of great importance here and will greatly agitate society. In a conversation between two gentlemen of some eminence, who represented the opinions and expectations of the leading men in the community, it was agreed that there was not one Bostonian in the House who could lead and sustain the fight on that question, nor could they find, they said, in the House, any one in whose power they could trust the issue, but yours; that you could if you would, lead on that great question with all the support and influence Boston could give, but they questioned your tendency on that proposition. If you are with them, they will put you first and expect you to be first and fight

tremendously, and they will cry 'Hurrah' for a long time. One thing is certain; you cannot escape by shunning the conflict, for the public disappointment would fall as heavy on retreat as on defeat. Expectation is excited and no one doubts you will justify it. The best men in society depend on your inclination and ability, and desire to trust their cause to you; so Atlas must spread his shoulders. . . ."

This confidence was well founded, as Mr. Mann's own words, written to a friend, attest:

"You asked me, some time since, what I meant by the triumph of the temperance reform, and whether we must not always see excess. What I meant by the triumph of the reform was the entire prohibition of the sale of ardent spirits as a drink, the abrogation of the laws authorizing the existence of public places for its use and sale; thus taking away those frequent temptations to men whose appetites now overcome their resolutions. There are thousands and tens of thousands of inebriates who never would have been so had the tavern and the dram-shop been five miles off from their homes."

Horace Mann was returned to the legislature by increased majorities until his membership there was recognized as an established condition. In 1835, he was chosen a member of the State Senate, of which body he became the president, and he continued to administer that office with rare fidelity and impartiality until he left legislation for education. As president he exercised large influence on legislation and doubtless was greatly responsible for many measures in which he had no immediate and apparent part. That man has won a high position among his fellows whose private influence on questions of public policy has such weight



as to have a determining influence on the form which these shall take, and the time for their consideration. Horace Mann had great hope for the state or nation in that hour when its laws should be established in harmony with the great moral principles of the world. His early training in law, and his study of nations and institutions, had so sharpened his perception and aroused his mind that he saw not only the Ten Commandments, but ten thousand commandments, all of them laws of God and binding on state and individual.

Many of the leading citizens of Boston with whom he held daily converse were Transcendentalists, and though he never accepted Transcendentalism, he lived in the very atmosphere where it flourished and in which it brought forth such worthy fruit. The social atmosphere was at that time alive with reforms, and he was fully indoctrinated with a score of these, which were to him dominant measures.

Among them all, nothing appealed to him more strongly than the cause of public education. Education had been the family calling. Father, mother, sisters, cousins and aunts, had been teachers. The schools of the Commonwealth had, for ten years, been receiving unusual attention at the hands of a group of earnest reformers. First among these stood James G. Carter, who was steadily agitating for improvement in the matter, manner and spirit of education. His leading contention was for normal schools which should train the teachers for acceptable service in the schools of the state. The climax of this contest was the establishment of a Board of Education, to be appointed by the Governor, and to have general supervision of the education of the state, collecting and interpreting

statistics, encouraging the teachers, and taking such general and expert supervision as was demanded by one of the great interests of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Mann entered heartily into the efforts for the passage of the bill establishing this Board of Education, and in his official capacity as president of the Senate, affixed his signature. But he had done all this with only his general interest in education, and was astounded when Edmund Dwight proposed that he should be made Secretary of the new Board of Education. This proposition also surprised others. By all considerations of effort and merit, James G. Carter should have been chosen Secretary of the Board. He was the untiring advocate who had persevered until the bill had been placed on the statute books. No one had been a more faithful student of the subject than he, and when at last the law was an accomplished fact, who but he should be chosen to execute it? But not so. Governor Everett realized that the need was not so much a great educator as a great educational statesman, and he named Horace Mann for the place.

Mr. Mann's journal at that time best shows his attitude toward this new call to duty.

May 18, '37.—"Spent this evening with Mr. Dwight, who showed me a letter from the Governor, proposing my nomination, with his, as a member of the Board of Education provided for by a law of the last session. Mr. Dwight again urged upon me a consideration of the subject of my being Secretary of the Board. Ought I to think of filling this high and responsible office? Can I adequately perform its duties? Will my greater zeal in the cause than that of others, supply the deficiency in point of talent and information? Whoever shall undertake that task must encounter privation,



labor and infinite annoyance from an infinite number of schemers; he must condense the steam of enthusiasts, and soften the rock of the incredulous. What toil in arriving at a true system himself; what toil in infusing that system into the minds of others! How many dead minds to resuscitate, how many prurient ones to soothe, how much of mingled truth and error to decompound and analyze! What a spirit of perseverance to sustain him all the way between the inception and the accomplishment of his object! But should he succeed how would his beneficial influence upon mankind widen and deepen as it descended forever!"

June 14, '37.—"All the leisure of this day has been spent in writing a long letter to E. Dwight, Esq., at his request, portraying the duties of the Secretary of the Board of Education, and informing him of the relation in which I must stand to his proposition to me, to accept that office. I cannot think of that station, as it regards myself, without feeling both hopes and fears, desires and apprehensions, multiplying in my mind. So glorious a sphere, should it be crowned with success; so heavy with disappointment and humiliation, should it fail through any avoidable misfortune! What a thought, to have the future minds of such multitudes dependent in any perceptible degree upon one's own exertions!"

June 28, '37.—"I tremble, however, at the idea of the task that possibly now lies before me. Yet I can now conscientiously say, that here stands my mind ready to undergo the hardships and privations to which I must be subjected and to encounter the jealousy, the misrepresentation and the prejudice, almost certain to arise—here stands my mind ready to meet them in the spirit of a martyr. To-morrow will probably prescribe for me a course of life. Let it come! I know one thing; if I stand by the principles of truth and duty, nothing can inflict upon me any permanent harm."

June 30, '37.—"This morning, I communicated my

acceptance of the Secretaryship of the Board of Education. Henceforth, so long as I hold this office, I devote myself to the supremest welfare of mankind upon earth. An inconceivably great labor is undertaken. With the highest degree of prosperity, results will manifest themselves but slowly. The harvest is far distant from the seed time. FAITH is the only sustainer. I have faith in the improvability of the race—in their accelerating improvability."

July 3, '37.—"What strikes me as most extraordinary in relation to my new office, is that every one enquires concerning the *salary* or makes remarks that look wholly to the comparative *honor* of the station, while none seems to recognize its possible usefulness or the dignity and elevation which is inwrought into beneficent action. Does not the community need to be educated half way round the compass, until they shall cease to look upon that as the greatest good which is the smallest, and shall find the greatest good in what they now overlook and by which their minds pass as unconsciously as though it had no existence?"

July 4, '37.—"The people who speak to me on the subject of my Secretaryship seem to think that there is more dignity or honor or something in being President of the Senate, than to be Missionary of Popular Education. If the Lord will prosper me for ten years, I will show them what way the balance of honor lies. But this is not a matter to be done sleeping."

The one noble exception was Dr. Channing, who gave him courage in these words:

NEW YORK, Aug. 19, 1837.

My dear Sir,

I understand that you have given yourself to the cause of education in our Commonwealth. I rejoice in it. Nothing could give me greater pleasure. I have long desired that some one uniting all your qualifications should devote him-



self to this work. You could not find a nobler station. Government has no nobler one to give. You must allow me to labor under you according to my opportunities. If at any time I can aid you, you must let me know, and I shall be glad to converse with you always about your operations. When will the low, degrading party quarrels of the country cease, and the better minds come to think what can be done toward a substantial, generous improvement of the community? "My ear is pained and my very soul is sick" with the monotonous, yet furious, clamors about currency, banks, etc., when the spiritual interests of the community seem hardly to be recognized as having any reality.

If we can but turn the wonderful energy of this people into a right channel, what a new heaven and earth must be realized among us! And I do not despair. Your willingness to consecrate yourself to the work is a happy omen. You do not stand alone, or form a rare exception to the times. There must be many to be touched by the same truths which are stirring you.

My hope is that the new pursuit will give you new vigor and health. If you can keep strong outwardly, I have no fear about the efficiency of the spirit. I write in haste for I am not very strong, and any effort exhausts me, but I wanted to express my sympathy, and to wish you God speed on your way.

Your sincere friend,
WM. E. CHANNING.*

*See Dr. Channing's Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 89.



CHAPTER V

IN THE BOARD OF EDUCATION—THE STRUGGLE

Before him there opened a commanding career. He was a leading lawyer with a practice of some three thousand dollars a year. He was a leading member of the legislature, and regarded as a man only on the threshold of his political career; but, as he weighed the question, the opportunity for the accomplishment of a great reform grew upon him, and he gave himself to this new ministry without reserve. Nothing was allowed to stand in the way of the work which he would accomplish. He resigned his place in the legislature. He gave up his law practice. He withdrew even from the temperance society with which he was intimately connected, and devoted himself to his duties as Secretary of the Board of Education with a consecration not less complete than marked Paul, when he said, "This one thing I do." To a friend he wrote:

"My law books are for sale. My office is 'to let.' The bar is no longer my forum. My jurisdiction is changed. I have abandoned jurisprudence, and betaken myself to the larger sphere of mind and morals. Having found the present generation composed of materials almost unmalleable, I am about transferring my efforts to the next. Men are cast-iron; children are wax."

Mr. Mann was not lacking in qualifications for his new position. Supreme among these was his moral



earnestness. For him, all subjects were shadowed by the eternities. In this he was a Puritan of the Puritans, and with the intrepid spirit of Cromwell, he was ready to take the field in defence of any principle or measure of duty. He had the native instinct of sympathy. His broad humanitarian interest responded to every call of the unfortunate. He was a strong friend of Dr. Howe in the great work of that apostle for the education of the blind. He was in the van of the fight with intemperance, and almost from childhood was ardent in the advocacy of total abstinence. His legal training was of the greatest value in enabling him to state his case strongly and to make the coming generation his clients. His wide acquaintance with men gave him an ease, grace and dignity in his work that helped him greatly in this new field of endeavor. He was a man of powerful intellectual grasp. His mind was broad and logical. Every item appeared in all its relations and every topic brought to his attention was considered at once under some great principle of action. From the combination of elements in his moral and intellectual nature, it came about that whatever cause he espoused, he "lifted the discussion at once to an elevated plane, giving it a breadth and dignity which appealed to the thoughtful men and women of his day." This was the secret of his power and his success.

He realized that his first duty in this new undertaking was to learn how. Accordingly, he withdrew to the country and gave himself to the study of the principles of education. The books of Miss Edgeworth and James Simpson were of special value to him. As he read and thought, a vision of the possibilities of this

great campaign was borne in upon him. The children of the Commonwealth became his clients and early he set out to plead their cause before an indifferent public. Up and down the State he went, holding teachers' institutes, addressing public meetings and discussing the great subject of education with an enthusiasm which, in public, never failed, and with a vigor, perseverance and discretion which made rapid progress, for all that it seemed to him painfully slow.

Horace Mann had undertaken a work which the people had believed was being done, but one which he showed them was but superficially attempted, and accomplished never. Many of his private hours were sad. His journal recorded his hopes and disappointments.

To make an impression in Berkshire, he said, was like trying to batter down Gibraltar with one's fist. After a meeting at Northampton, he wrote: "Ah me! I have hold of so large a mountain that there is much danger that I shall break my own back in trying to lift it." He said of Barnstable: "I will work in this moral, as well as physical sandbank of a county until I can get some new things to grow out of it." At Dedham, his former home, the convention was a meagre, spiritless, discouraging affair. He said: "If the school-master is abroad in this country, I should like to meet him." At Wellfleet the convention was "miserable, contemptible, deplorable." On a second visit to Pittsfield, he found that no arrangements had been made to prepare the schoolhouse for the meeting. He and Governor Briggs provided themselves with brooms, swept out the building, and set things in order. On reaching Boston in November, he wrote



in his journal: "My great circuit is now complete. The point to which three months ago I looked forward with so much anxiety is reached. The labor is done. With much weariness, with almost unbounded anxiety, with some thwartings, but on the whole, with unexpected and extraordinary encouragement, the work is done. That, however, is but the beginning."

His plan of campaign included four leading features: (1) The holding of public meetings and the agency of public address. As a political speaker, he had drawn together thousands; now those who heard him were numbered by dozens, but never despairing, he brought together in the work of education the leading men of the State. Ministers, politicians, men of science, statesmen and philosophers were laid under tribute for the work which he would accomplish for the Commonwealth, and they stirred the thought and feeling of the whole State.

(2) But he was engaged in a work requiring all the resources which he could summon. Not only the public must be aroused, but the teachers must be instructed. Accordingly, he organized a system of county institutes for teachers, which were conducted by the leading educators of Massachusetts and other States. Instruction was given in the common branches, in the principles of education, and in the art of teaching. Besides this, in connection with these institutes, one or more public addresses were given on education.

(3) Next he made ample provision for the collection of statistics. As the reports from the various districts came in, they were examined, grouped in tables, and interpreted as only Horace Mann could interpret them. As a result of these and of his travels and



investigations, he was enabled to prepare a set of reports that has never been equaled in the educational history of this or any other country.

(4) The next was a statesmanlike agency to influence the educators of the Commonwealth. It was the Common School Journal. He was quick to see every need. An early and striking need was a paper which should disseminate his ideas in a manner less personal than that offered by public address and correspondence. Accordingly, he inaugurated the Common School Journal as a private enterprise. It was published semi-monthly in octavo form, each number containing sixteen pages, making an annual volume of three hundred and eighty-four pages. The subscription price was one dollar a year. Many educational papers had lived a short and troubled existence, but such a warning did not deter him. "It was born, not because it was wanted, but because it was needed!" and for ten years he made it a means of disseminating his ideas in striking and effective form.

Though carried on as a private enterprise, it was distinctly the organ of the Board of Education. Horace Mann had set out to create a certain type of public sentiment which would sustain the reforms he wished to establish. He early deals with the influence of education, with the colonial laws of Massachusetts and Plymouth, with the common schools of Ohio, New York and Massachusetts, and with the school library,—indeed, with all the agencies he wished to put into operation in the State. Parts of many of his reports were published in the Journal. Lists of words often mispronounced frequently appeared. Many of the news items and aphorisms remind one of Franklin in



his effort to establish a wholesome public sentiment, as these extracts show:

"Why, Neighbor Simple," said Mr. Farsight, one bright morning, when Mr. Simple was mowing in a lot, where the grass stood so thin that the spires looked lonesome, "why, Neighbor Simple, you had a fine lot here with a strong soil, but your blades of grass are so far apart, that they might grow into hoop-poles and not crowd each other." "Yes," said Mr. Simple, "I've been thinking I was almost a fool, for I ought to have sowed a bushel of good hay-seed upon this piece, but the truth is, I bought only a peck and so I scattered it about so much the thinner, and now I see I have lost a ton of hay by it." "Well," said Mr. Farsight, "don't you think you were about as near being a fool when you voted, last town meeting, against granting any more school money for sowing the seeds of knowledge in the minds of the children, as you were when you scattered a peck of hay-seed where you ought to have sowed a bushel? Now, remember, Neighbor Simple, what I tell you; next year, wherever there is not grass in this lot, there'll be weeds."

Again:

"But what will astonish the reader, although it is an incontestable fact in natural history, and can be proved by thousands of witnesses, is, that monkeys* themselves, in their native country, often unite together, and construct a sort of tenement where they confine the young of the whole flock, which tenements are so secluded from all access of pure air, that consumption in the whole brood is the inevitable consequence, and great numbers of them perish, from generation to generation, of that disorder."

"A patriot is known by the interest he takes in Common Schools."

*"For *monkeys* read *men*, and for *tenement* read *schoolhouse*."



"Childhood is like a mirror—catching and reflecting images from all around it. Remember, that an impious or a profane thought, uttered by a parent's lip, may operate upon a young heart like a careless spray of water thrown upon polished steel, staining it with rust which no after scouring can efface."

"A very learned man often has not the slightest power of communicating instruction."

"If Adam had named 'all cattle and the fowl of the air and every beast of the field' without seeing them, think you he would have known which was which, when he actually saw them afterwards? So it is when children read words, without understanding their meaning."

"Between a good teacher and a bad one, there is as much difference as between bright sunshine and a total eclipse. Don't choose a committeeman who cannot see such a difference."

"No amount of intellectual attainments can afford a guaranty for the moral rectitude of their possessor."

"Some teachers will teach only from the books from which they themselves learned. This would create a hereditary descent of books, and the line would be immortal."

"It is happy for us when a being of noble sentiments and beneficent life enters our circle, becomes an object of interest to us, and by affectionate intercourse takes a strong hold on our hearts."



"*School Master Abroad.*—The following is a literal copy of a notice stuck up in a small steamboat in Yankee waters: '*No smoking aloud abaft the engine.*'"

"It is an arrangement of Providence, as beautiful as it is wise, that children are brought into the world *without habits*. Through these, the educator can make the child better than himself."

"*Sunday Schools and Common Schools* are the *great leveling institutions of this age.* What is the secret of aristocracy? It is, *knowledge* is *power.* Knowledge, the world over, has been possessed by the few, and ignorance has been the lot of the many. The merchant, —what is it that gives him wealth? The lawyer—what is it that confers upon him political power? The clergy—what is it that gives them influence, so benign for good purposes, so fatal for mischievous ends? Knowledge. Knowledge can never be taken from those by whom it has once been obtained, and hence the power which it confers upon the few cannot be broken, while the many are uneducated. Strip its possessors of all their wealth and power and honors, and knowledge still remains the same mighty agent to restore again the inequality you have removed. But there is a more effectual way to banish aristocracy from among us. It is by extending the advantages of knowledge to the many—to all the citizens of the State. *Just so far and so fast as education is extended, true democracy is ascendant.*

"We utterly repudiate as unworthy, not of freemen only, but of men, the narrow notion, that there is to be an education for the poor as such. Has God provided for the poor a coarser earth, a thinner air, a paler sky? Does not the glorious sun pour down his golden flood as cheerily upon the poor man's hovel as



upon the rich man's palace? Have not the cotter's children as keen a sense of all the freshness, the verdure, fragrance, melody, and beauty of luxuriant nature as the pale sons of kings? Or is it on the mind that God has stamped the imprint of a baser birth, so that the poor man's child knows, with an inborn certainty, that his lot is to crawl, not to climb?"

"PRISONS OR SCHOOLS

"In the Annual Report, just presented to the Legislature, of the Board of Inspectors of the State Prison at Charlestown, we find the following:

"'THE TIME IS NOT VERY DISTANT, WHEN, FROM THE INCREASING POPULATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH, AN ADDITION TO THE ACCOMMODATIONS of THE PRISON WILL BE REQUIRED.'

"Yes, Honorable Legislators! If you do not improve the schools, you must enlarge the prisons.

"Who dares to say that, of the *three hundred and eighteen souls* in that weeping and wailing, or cursing and blaspheming company, in the State Prison, there are so many as fifty, who, with proper early education, would not now have been useful, honorable, happy members of society?"

He writes in his journal:

Sept. 21, 1839.—"Many people kindly express sympathy with me in regard to the embarrassments which I encounter and the obstacles which are thrown in my path, and are pleased to say, they fear I shall be discouraged. They do not know the stuff I am made of, that's all."

Dec. 25, 1839.—"To-day the Board of Education has met. I am not prepared with my report. Too much labor to admit that possibility. To-morrow they meet again. In the evening I am engaged to go to Waltham, which is too severe. To deliver a lecture after all this



brain-storming; how can I do it? But I must do it, out of love for the most glorious cause that ever human being undertook.

"I forgot to mention in my last entry, that during the week I had an informal proposition to go to Missouri, as President of a College, with a salary of three thousand a year, a splendid house, gardens, etc., so said the offer; but so far as my own preferences are concerned, I would rather remain here and work for mere bread than to go there for the wealth of the great valley of the Mississippi. Oh, let me prosper in this! I ask no other reward for all my labors. This is my only object of ambition, and if this is lost, what link will bind me to earth?"

The struggle was on, and he learned, as he had never known it before, the immensity of the struggle which was to arouse that apathetic giant, the Public, a giant, querulous, impatient and complaining, be the cause as noble as it might. At this time there was no adequate ideal of a non-sectarian, moral public school. Public schools there were; good private schools there were; but the public schools of the country were stamped with the stigma of pauper, and were marked by the sectarianism of the community by which they were surrounded, or marred by the struggle of the contending religious denominations in the midst of which they merely existed. It remained for Horace Mann to give the modern interpretation of the public school, an institution with practical morality, embodied not in creeds but in the lives of its teachers; to interpret to them the democratic ideals of education for the whole people, for the safety and development of all, and this, not as a special privilege, but as a God-given right, due to the native nobility of human nature. The

history of the effort to incorporate these ideals is the history of a five years' struggle. Horace Mann's effort was to arouse such an enthusiasm as would commit the people to ideals, plans and policies from which they could not easily recede.

His boldness was the very condition which won success. His first report and his early addresses, written within the first six months after his appointment, foreshadowed everything that was accomplished later. He laid his hand upon many things at once: abuses to be corrected, deficiencies to be supplied, and reforms to be established. Special interests were alarmed, but there was no concert of action against his plans. Accordingly, extensive changes in the law were prepared and carried. Union schools were provided for, school committees were paid, and a system of county institutes was established.

There had long been a great need for trained teachers. Only a man now and then, who was in advance of his age, thought that teachers need training. But the Board of Education decided to establish normal schools, and the work was undertaken. The first great quest was for a teacher, and he was found on the sandy shore of Nantucket—Cyrus Pierce, a man who represented, in actual practice, the best that Horace Mann had been able to declare in theory. It was difficult to persuade the people of Nantucket to give up Cyrus Pierce, and the self-denial which the man practised was not small. His happy home and the location in the surroundings where he was known and appreciated, all had great hold upon him; but he was not a man to refuse, for any personal considerations, his duty to the State nor to the young. He had admired Mann's work from the



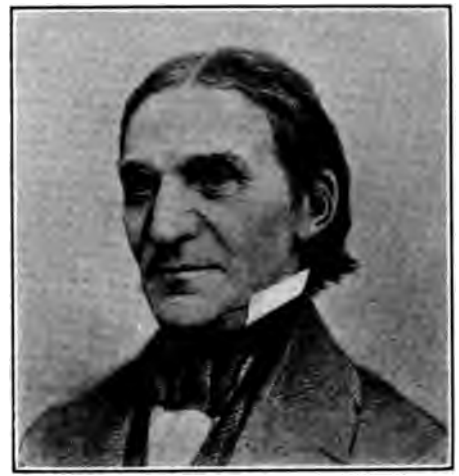
beginning, and was glad to have a part in an enterprise so fraught with large possibilities. He accepted the appointment, saying, "I had rather die than fail in the undertaking."

Cyrus Pierce had entered Harvard College in 1806, where he maintained the reputation of an upright young man and an accurate, though not a brilliant scholar. His success was won by his fidelity and perseverance rather than by intellectual power. The principle which dominated his life was love of truth. Mentally he was inquisitive and candid. Whatever he undertook, he did thoroughly, not because the task was imposed, but because he wished to master the subject. These habits, established in Mr. Pierce's college days, remained with him throughout his life. He used to say, "Study enough will make a pupil master of anything he is capable of learning." He was intolerant of carelessness and steadily held every student to his best work, but he was a man of remarkable tact and most of his victories in education were won by ranging the student's own interest and energy against the internal elements of indolence and ignorance. Mr. Pierce was highly successful in helping students to understand themselves. He never allowed a student to conceal his ignorance nor to pretend to a knowledge which he did not possess. His teaching soon inspired a love of learning for its own sake. It brought about a new birth. Intellectual and moral light came pouring into the child's being like a flood. In a very true sense Mr. Pierce was a redeemer of human nature.

The Board of Education decided to establish two normal schools, one at Lexington for young ladies and



NORMAL SCHOOL, WEST NEWTON



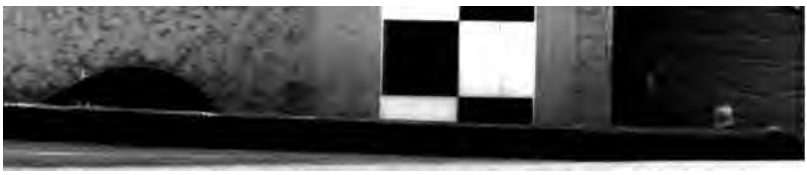
CYRUS PIERCE





one at Barre for both sexes. Cyrus Pierce was called to Lexington. There was much uncertainty in the minds of the people as to the province of the normal schools, and though the school was dedicated with imposing ceremonies, and though it was promised every assistance by Mr. Mann and by the Board of Education, but three students presented themselves as candidates for this training.

Little by little Mr. Pierce showed these three young ladies that there were a great many things about the common branches that they had never known; that education in itself is a process by which the young are called into the possession of inheritances for the race and to the development of powers in themselves, of which they had scarcely dreamed. He revealed new beauties in human nature and new qualities and characteristics in the branches of study; and from the first the school had a steady growth. At the end of three years, this normal school had an attendance of only forty-two students, but the movement was one which met a real need in the system of education, and the passing years have demonstrated the prophetic vision which warranted the establishment of training schools for teachers. The common experience of these schools resulted in the co-operation and development of a large number of live, strong men and women, and this great brotherhood from end to end of our land has for its leading problem the making of the best citizens from the unshaped material committed to its hands. That there is an art of bringing up to virtue and efficiency and skill, has more and more grown in the minds of those who have studied education, and to-day not a few of the colleges have found it worth



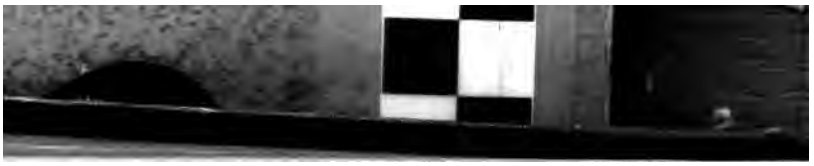
while to establish chairs of education, in order that this large subject might be adequately considered in the life preparation of their students. From small beginnings great things have grown, and when we remember the large results that have been wrought out in other lines, and the devout spirit of those who established and carried forward the normal schools in the early days, well may we reverently adopt the words, "Behold what God hath wrought!"

But the Secretary had undertaken a course that was sure to bring about a reaction. The various antagonists to progress, who were too weak to affect anything separately, combined their forces and made a violent attack upon the reform. The miser began to feel to his cost the advance of the system. The publisher sought in vain to have the Board and its Secretary subserve his private interests, but they would not, so he was done with the whole enterprise. The sectarian, who could see in the schools only a means of proselyting to his denomination and stamping his religious doctrines on the children's minds, was offended at the spread of non-sectarian education. All these, and others, who had been pained or disappointed in any way by the action of the Board or its Secretary, prepared in private to gain the ascendency in the legislature, transfer the duties of the Secretary of the Board to the Secretary of State, dispose of the Normal Schools, and, in short, to leave everything much as it was before Mr. Mann had undertaken his great work. There had been numerous covert attacks throughout the year 1839. Mr. Mann records in his journal that this was the most difficult and unpleasant year of his experience in the Board.

American life has never been without men whose chief place in politics was determined by their quest for the spoils of office. They have no large vision of the duty of the Commonwealth to its people. They are averse to real education, and while they often speak for learning, by dishonest administration of public trusts and by voting against the public welfare, they continually retard the progress of great movements for the advancement of civilization.

Opposed to these men there stands another class whose great purpose is the advancement of the interests of the Commonwealth. They give themselves to every new enterprise with an unfailing devotion which carries them far toward the realization of a great and growing hope. They do work that needs to be done with a patience and consecration that doubly sanctifies their effort.

In this contest between the friends of society and the friends of pelf, the leader of the friends of society was fortunate to have as his allies a host of strong, true men. They wrought mightily for the cause of which he was the leader, and defended the great principles for which he stood, contending against everything that was trifling and unworthy. Reaching out toward everything that promised to promote the public welfare, they fought out this fight against selfishness and personal greed to the point of glorious victory. In every contest of his life, Horace Mann was thus fortunate. He gave his life with such unselfishness to the various causes of humanity that, in spite of his mistakes and in spite of the intemperance and sometimes unreasonableness of the views which he advocated, there was always a company of consecrated friends



who vigorously defended the cause on which his heart was set. Happy indeed is the man whose motives are so transparent, whose life is so devoted to the public good, whose purposes are so high and noble in their conception, and whose methods have enough of right in their accomplishment, to win for himself the strong support and encouragement of nature's noblemen!

There is a leadership which is founded upon selfishness, and a kind of achievement which has for its end only the gratification of personal vanity and personal ambition; but that leadership which looks to the highest good of the greatest number, which seeks really the common weal, is a leadership greatly needed in this fair land. Every young man who hears this inward call and who nerves himself to the contest, may take new courage, since the number of those whose thoughts are as his thoughts, is growing daily larger and more aggressive. There is coming to us a new interpretation of the sacred duties of citizenship, a new conception of the possibilities in church and state, a new devotion among the people to those things which make for the common good of the masses, not in the mass, but as individuals, fitted to do their life work. We are members one of another, and the recognition of this relationship, with its marvelous and beautiful privileges, appeals as never before to the common heart of man.

The contests, however, are not always political. Indeed, there are a thousand forces that must be contended with by those who have undertaken to serve their generation; and so it was with Horace Mann. Short and sharp was the contest on the political side,



finding its forces in the legislature. But there were more stubborn and more subtle contests covering longer periods and less easily decided. As already indicated, the very forward trend of this great movement resulted in conflicts with many personal interests and in arousing many antagonists. Mr. Mann was a cultivated, tactful and gracious gentleman, and whenever irritation was discovered, he sought, by all reasonable means, to win over the disaffected person. His usual custom was to write a conciliatory letter or to visit the one who felt aggrieved. This was usually sufficient to make him a strong friend of the Secretary and of the Board. But now and then the causes of the complaint were too deep to be reached by any means of healing. Under such conditions, Mr. Mann marshalled all the forces within his influence and, with the strength of the whole arsenal, fired a volley which completely shattered his opponents. There was only the smoke of battle and the blackened field to tell of the encounter.

Horace Mann's work for the schools of Massachusetts followed a developing ideal. At the beginning he formed a general ideal which included nearly all the features of his later plans, but his own experience and, in particular, the experience and inspiration of the great company of men and women who were thinking along educational lines, resulted in working out the details with a definiteness, accuracy and finish beyond the best that Mr. Mann had first thought out. His early plans included a complete educational revival; the establishment of normal schools; the general use of school libraries; and such an attitude toward the affairs of the Commonwealth on the part of the schools



themselves, as would result in the advancement and development of the life of the whole people.

As his work advanced, Horace Mann came to feel the supreme importance of moral instruction. He was a specialist in ethics, and from childhood had been a champion of justice, but in his mature years, his disappointment with men, because of their blind and unreasonable attitude on many questions, led him to turn more and more to the children. In his plans for the Board of Education, the idea of moral training took highest place in his thought. He conferred with many of the best men of the Commonwealth, representing all religious denominations and no denomination at all. He read widely and carefully, and at last came to a very clear conception of the best modern ideal for the non-sectarian but distinctly moral public school. This ideal he undertook to incorporate in the plans of the Board of Education, and to embody in the schools of the State, through the teachers trained in the normal schools and by other means accessible to the Board.

From the first Horace Mann had been working for the public schools of the Commonwealth, particularly for the country schools. He had raised them to a dignity and efficiency hardly before dreamed of. In these years of contest and sacrifice, he had taxed his health to the last degree. But amid all these contests, there were tender agencies that brought to him, in the struggles of a wounded heart, healing and comfort.

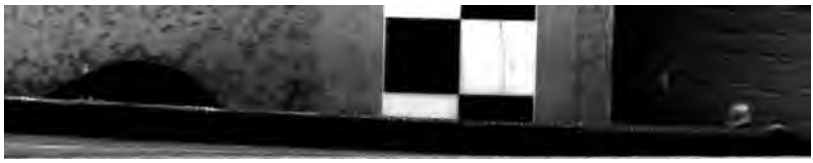
When he came from Dedham to Boston, he went to board at the home of Mrs. Clarke. At her table were Jared Sparks, the historian, Miss Elizabeth Peabody, afterward the great kindergartner, Miss Mary Peabody,



whom he afterward married, and Miss Sophia Peabody, afterwards Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Horace Mann was already well known from his work in connection with the Asylum at Worcester, his ardent advocacy of the cause of temperance, and his active and earnest work in the Legislature. But to the Peabody sisters he was particularly interesting, since he came there under the shadow of the loss of his young wife and, with his inconsolable grief, aroused the sympathy even of those who barely knew his story.

The spirit of Transcendentalism was attracting great attention, and Elizabeth Peabody was an ardent disciple of the new cult. She looked forward to the good day when there should be a great and noble affection among all the children of men, and in the spirit of this new affection which she sought to realize, her heart went out to Horace Mann in his suffering; and so with her sister Mary. They urged upon him a fuller recognition of the mercy and love of God and a truer understanding of the great mystery of death. Mary Peabody had strong faith in the presence of those who had passed into the other life as guardian spirits in our present sphere. With these and a hundred other ideas and fancies, they beguiled Mr. Mann in his sorrow, and he soon came to speak to them frankly and naturally of his grief and his unsatisfied longing. He was a man of pure and noble nature, and it was natural enough that both the sisters should come to love him. Mary discovered her feelings, and lest they should betray her secret, she slipped away with an invalid sister to Cuba, where she spent a year and a half in the vain effort to conquer



her affection. She returned to Boston, and for ten years kept the secret as well as she was able.

The sympathy of these sisters was to Horace Mann the very balm of Gilead, but he had found a new spring of affection. It was not affection for one; it was his great love for the children of Massachusetts. Life took on to him a different aspect, and he worked with a zest which he had not known since the death of his idolized wife. His devotion to the cause of education became a kind of religious rhapsody, gathering all his hopes and forces and satisfying all his longings and desires. Controversies arose, reached their climax and declined; new plans were considered and adopted. And so the years went on and the cause prospered.

But like one slowly awakening from a dream, he discovered that there had been born into his heart a new affection. He loved again, but differently and more quietly than before, and with a certain reservation born of the dominance of the illusion which he never ceased to believe, namely, that he had given his whole heart forever to Charlotte Messer. He told Mary Peabody that he could give her but the shadow of a heart, for his own was already buried in the grave. But wiser than he in the things of the heart, she accepted him on these slight assurances. They were married and, with Dr. and Mrs. Samuel G. Howe, took passage on the Hibernia for Europe to visit the educational and philanthropic institutions of England and the Continent. This was a wonderful journey, bringing, amid its strenuous days, new hope and courage and affection to the heart of Horace Mann, and a new and deeper friendship with Dr. Howe and his gifted wife. The story of his travels will find place

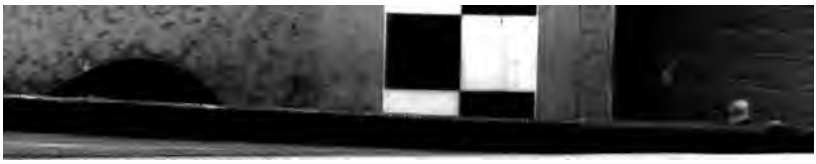


later in this chapter. Here we pause to note the effect of this new affection on his life.

For ten years Horace Mann had been in a boarding house, without the care which one finds in a home, longing for the affection and attentions which even the best of friends forget to pay. He had grown remote from men, and though he labored daily for the cause of humanity, he shrank away even from those who sought his sympathy and friendship; marriage was good for him. His friends were all delighted with the new step. George Combe wrote to him from Edinburgh:

"Thrice welcome, my very dear and much esteemed friend, to your fatherland; and thrice again welcome to your wife. Our inmost souls rejoice and we are glad that you have done this wise thing. Your nature was framed for affection; your duties required the solace of love and sympathy in your private hours; and you needed a close endearing tie to bind your life and give you a motive for preserving your health and vigor for the benefit of your country and the world; God bless and preserve you both is our earnest prayer. But, my dear friend, you have forgotten to tell us who she is; what feminine name she bore before she became a Mann, etc. When one is deeply interested in a person, every particular about her is a new gratification."

She was a woman worthy to be the wife of such a man, rich in scholarship, warm-hearted, and full of the finest sympathy; not always practical, but always wishing for the best, and loving him with absolute devotion. She entered fully into the interests of his life, and furthered his best efforts in the cause of humanity, whatever the form of the cause which he sought to advance. She thought of a thousand tender



services, and almost burdened him with her care and watchfulness for his comfort. Domestic life had a new meaning to him.

In the new relation of things he must have a home, and he went to the little town of West Newton, ten miles from Boston, purchased a lot, and there built a house somewhat in accordance with his taste and means. His determination was thus expressed:

"I have been a wanderer for twenty years; and, when any one asked me where I lived, I could say, in the language of another, 'I do not live anywhere; I board.' This Arab life I could bear while I was alone; but, when I had a 'wife and weans' to carry from place to place, it became intolerable."

In the late afternoon of a certain October day, one might have seen, ascending the gentle slope of the hill on Chestnut Street, West Newton, a tall and striking figure. It was a cool day, such as comes now and then in the early fall, and the figure was wearing a large cloak. He looked like an old Roman senator, but as he came nearer to the observer, his age did not seem to be more than fifty years, though his hair was white and he had a venerable appearance which would at once command respect. His head was high, his face was strong and kindly, and when he spoke, it became luminous. All his movements were quick and magnetic, and there was about his carriage and action a reach, which denoted more than common activity and vigor. He was such a man as a stranger, having passed, would turn to see again. And well he might, for this man, a doer of deeds, was already known on two continents. It was Horace Mann.

Shortly after settling in West Newton, he wrote to



his friend Mr. Clap: "I have but one luxury in my new home, and that is a room for a friend and a plate at the table." This home which he had founded became a new center for his affections. He did a hundred little things about the homestead in the little village of West Newton. Grape vines were to be trimmed; flowers to be set; walks to be made; and his hand was to be seen in every place. He loved the work and it gave him a certain relaxation from the cares of his Secretaryship.

Horace Mann was already known among the educators in the leading countries of the world when he went to Europe, and every door was opened to him that he might study the educational systems. There followed a most careful and painstaking tour in England and on the Continent. He traveled under the auspices of the Board of Education, but paid his own expenses, and returned home to write the greatest of his annual reports.

The Seventh Annual Report contained a full account of what he had seen abroad, with special reference to the application of the lessons he had learned in foreign schools to American needs and opportunities. The story was vigorously and strikingly told. Troops of images thronged his brain, and the great lessons he had learned were stated in every conceivable form to show their truth or incite to action. Boston had schools, staid, well planned and excellent of their kind, but schools in which the leaders had not lived up to their inheritances, and in these pictures of foreign schools, the leaders felt themselves condemned.

On the whole, he wrote in the best of spirit, and if conditions had been less strained, he probably would



not have excited any serious adverse criticism. But his imagination was full of pictures, and it was nigh impossible for him to give a cold statement of the facts. He writes with enthusiasm of the Scotch schools, saying:

"I entirely despair of exciting in any other person, by a description, the vivid impressions of mental activity or celerity, which the daily operation of these schools produced in my mind. Actual observation alone can give anything approaching the true idea. I do not exaggerate when I say that the most active and lively schools I have ever seen in the United States, must be regarded almost as dormitories, if compared with the fervid life of the Scotch schools; and, by the side of theirs, our pupils would seem to be hibernating animals just emerging from their torpid state, and as yet but half conscious of the possession of life and faculties. It is certainly within bounds to say, that there are six times as many questions put and answers given in the same space of time, as I ever heard put and given in any school in our own country."*

These, with other phrases referring to incompetent teachers, sleepy supervision and similar expressions, which would be used naturally enough by a man anxious to bring out the weak points and provide for the improvement of the schools, had their effect, and there arose the controversy with the Boston Masters.

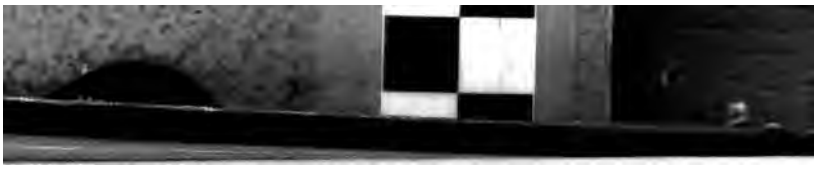
No experience in Horace Mann's educational career contributed more to his fame and to the advancement of the cause which he loved than this controversy with the Boston Masters. It was inevitable, though commonly charged to his Seventh Annual Report. The spirit

*Works, Vol. III, p. 281.

of complacency and self satisfaction which Boston had so long enjoyed at last brought forth its usual harvest, and the schools were not in a mood to profit by the rising tide of educational thought and enthusiasm.

Let us remember the conditions. Horace Mann had issued his Fifth Report in the climax of his power and success. It was received at home and abroad in the spirit of highest appreciation. This gave him a new confidence in his task and he regarded the work of reforming the schools as well advanced. For the next year, worn out by his efforts in performing the duties of his position, he wrote his Sixth Report on physiology. The work was well done, but it "came as an anti-climax to the expectant people."

At this time occurred his marriage, and he appealed to the Board of Education to be allowed to take a period of foreign travel at his own expense. This request was granted. In Scotland, England, Ireland, Germany, Saxony, Holland, Belgium, France and Prussia, he was received everywhere with the greatest respect and allowed every opportunity for the investigation of schools. He visited not only the public schools of these countries, but other institutions, for the blind, deaf-mutes, orphans, vagrants and juvenile offenders. He was quick to note inequalities and defects in the systems of education, and criticized with special severity the partial system of education as seen in England, the disproportion in the salaries of teachers, and the books, degrading and often unworthy, used in the lowest class of schools. The school houses, with the exception of the palaces devoted to private or endowed schools, he regarded as inferior to those of Massachusetts in convenience and in ventilation. The



reading books, especially in Germany, were better than ours, being more practical in their character. Their blackboards were used more extensively and for more purposes than ours. In some schools he found the standard weights and measures of the country. This he counted of immediate value. In others, as in Holland, there were cards containing fac-similes of the coins of the realm. Reading boards or frames were found there, and models of implements of utility, and collections of shells, minerals, seeds, woods, etc., and occasionally paintings of considerable value; and in nearly all the schools, tasteful though cheap engravings and maps adorned the walls.

The Lancasterian schools he found upon the wane, "a more excellent way" having been substituted for them. He was much pleased with the mental activity displayed in the Scotch schools and with the thoroughness of their training in reading and in exercises in language, but he regarded the discipline as harsh and the appeals to emulation as unworthy. He found Prussian schools superior to any others that he saw in Europe, and in reviewing the period spent in Prussia and Saxony, he states the fact, which constituted a thorn in the flesh of the Boston Masters; namely, that he never saw a teacher hear a lesson with a book in hand, that he never saw a teacher sitting, and that he never saw a child arraigned for punishment, undergoing it, or having been recently punished. The earnestness and interest of the teachers in their work, with their strong affection for their pupils and the reciprocal affection engendered by this, made a special appeal to him. He then made a summary of the conditions as he had noted them in various countries,

commending many points, censuring others, and treating certain methods with a mild toleration. He brought his report to a close with eloquent reflections on our reasons for thankfulness that our lot was not cast among the worn-out nations of Europe, and that here civilization might have a new trial, unembarrassed by prescriptive rights, hereditary nobility, absolute government, feudalism or pauperism, concluding with the great truth, that "in a republic, ignorance is a crime, and private immorality is not less an opprobrium to the state than it is a guilt in the perpetrator.

His Report is introduced with the statement that he had visited countries where there was no national system of education, and others where the minutest details of the schools were regulated by law. He had seen and heard abundant explanations, and had visited schools where children were obliged to commit to memory in the Latin language the entire book of Psalms and other parts of the Bible, "neither teachers nor pupils understanding a word of the language which they were prating." He had seen countries in which the rod was used without measure and others in which its use was almost unknown. From this wide observation he concludes that many beneficial hints may be derived for the warning or imitation of his fellow countrymen.

For years, the Boston schools had been regarded as the best in the country. The Masters were educated men, nearly all of them having had college training and some of them the benefits of foreign travel. But this situation was all natural enough. The school is always so largely occupied with passing down



the culture and inheritance of the past that it is necessarily a conservative institution. The great reforms in education have usually found their birth outside the school. Now and then a great teacher with a consuming love of education and a vision of the sacredness of childhood, has wrought into his generation a new tenderness and a new interpretation of human life, but in questions of policy and administration, men from without have sounded the trumpet for advance. From time to time the general progress in Massachusetts had made the Boston Masters uncomfortable. The progress of other cities had often compelled them to explain that Boston was really keeping pace with other cities and that the advancement of these was in appearance only.

Mr. Mann's report was issued early in the spring, and through the spring and summer some of the Boston Masters appeared on the institute programs in the different cities, usually with an attack on the ideas presented by Mr. Mann in his Seventh Report. This was part of a plan wrought out in the Masters' organization of the city of Boston; it was annoying, but did not seriously hinder his work. Thirty-one of the Masters joined together in issuing the "Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Hon. Horace Mann." This was a document of one hundred and forty-four pages prepared by four different members of the Masters' Association, and then each section read before that body with the purpose of securing emendations and suggestions. Part I was a vigorous attack on Horace Mann and the Board of Education. Parts II, III, and IV were milder in form but were devoted to a criticism of Mr. Mann's work, with certain refer-

ences to his literary style. His habit of extravagant use of vigorous language and his tendency to make statements in excess of the fact, made him particularly vulnerable to the attack of the keen, well-poised and aggressive writers. The book was a strong production and ample time had been taken for the preparation. It was well-timed, wisely planned and wisely executed. With skill they paid a tribute to the virtue of the Puritan Fathers, to their devotion to education, and to their establishment of the college and of the common school. They declared that for two hundred years the great leaders of civilization in New England had had no higher education than that which came from the common school.

Mr. Mann was astonished beyond measure. Baffled by surprise and stung with rage, he sprang to the defense of his report and issued his "Reply" to their "Remarks." It was a poor piece of work. Until now his writings had been dignified, worthy and strong; but this was written in a bitter and sarcastic spirit, and was hasty and ill-thought-out, and though done with a peculiar strength, he descended to levels in his defense and counter-attack quite unworthy of a man of his quality and power. Of course a man of such vigor could not fail to give many a center shot, but he made a sorry attempt to defend his vigorous rhetoric and his extravagant statements.

More than the outside world was ever to know, Mr. Mann suffered at this time. He wrote to his physician: "Can you do anything for a brain that has not slept for three weeks? I can feel a flame in the center of my cranium, blazing and flaring around just as you see that of a pile of brush, burning on a distant heath in



the wind. What can be done to extinguish it?" Mr. Mann's friends saw that his health and the welfare of the cause so dear to him and to them were imperiled. They were such friends as any man might joy to have! Josiah Quincy, Charles Sumner, Edward Everett, John G. Whittier, Henry Wilson and Theodore Parker, with merchants, bankers and professional men, and they rallied to the defense of the cause. They at once raised among themselves five thousand dollars and asked the Legislature for a like sum, which was granted and placed in the hands of the Board of Education for the improvement of the schools. All of this was done as an indication of public confidence.

The Masters had returned again to the attack and issued a "Rejoinder." It was a reiteration and extension of certain parts of the earlier work, and though approved by many of the sectarian organs of the city and some others which had cause for being unfavorable to Mr. Mann, had received less credit than the earlier publication. Mr. Mann, who was now steadied by his friends, came to his "Answer" with all his old-time vigor, strength and poise. He put into the "Answer" the best work that he could produce, and though it was still marked with great severity, it was far more reasonable than his "Reply."

Dr. Winship says that Mr. Mann made an educational crisis; that he had fixed public attention on a great issue and forced his opponents to make a clear presentation of their cause from an untenable standpoint. This they did, and he, "with that skill which is the highest achievement of the reformer," was triumphantly sustained.

To every great leader there comes his hour of triumph.

Mr. Mann saw the hour, made the crisis, and by the help of his true and strong friends, won a victory which set education in Massachusetts forward fifty years. The results to the Boston schools were good. Leading men of the city were appointed to examine the schools and a most careful system of examination was devised and put into execution. This brought out the weakness of the schools with appalling clearness. Within a short time, four of the Masters were removed. But the schools went on to better things than they had known and they were so fortunate as again to find themselves in harmony with the spirit of their age. To sum the matter up: The Masters had made a masterly attack; it was well-planned and wrought out in a most careful way, but it was, from beginning to end, out of harmony with the spirit of the age. They failed and failed sadly, not because their work was poorly done, but because they were standing against a great progressive movement in human society. Men who undertake to stop a train by standing on the track, soon learn, in one way or another, the folly of their plan.

This was Horace Mann's last great contest in the Board of Education, in which the issue was at any time in doubt. A later one, involving the spirit of sectarianism, though of high importance and one which grew bitter before its close, never really imperiled the cause; it was only the last echo of a contest in which victory was assured from the beginning of the skirmish.



CHAPTER VI

IN THE BOARD OF EDUCATION—THE TRIUMPH

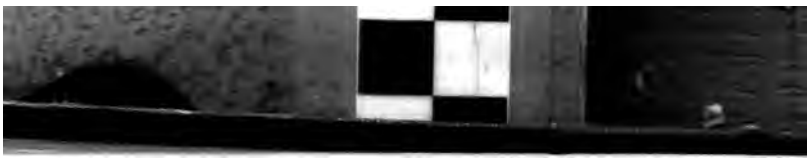
Mr. Mann was a strenuous worker. His comprehensive grasp of the subject and his remarkable ability in organizing and directing forces for the accomplishment of his object, are two of the strongest proofs of his genius. When he came to the Secretaryship of the Board of Education, he saw more clearly than anyone else the great possibilities of the work upon which he had entered. Through eleven long years Horace Mann was the organizing force which was making education popular in Massachusetts in the highest and best sense of that word. He was supported by an army of noble men. They were true and strong and earnest, but he was the leader and they would not have done half so much without his consecration and continued interest.

Every great reform passes through three stages: it is sneered at, then opposed, and at last exalted. The movement to establish the American common school had now reached the third stage. The great mass of the people had come to a recognition of its worth. The schools were enshrined in their hearts and the idea of a non-sectarian and moral public school, colored always by local sentiment, yet with much freedom and room for individual effort, had gained a



lasting hold on the public mind. It is true there were some fault-finders and opponents, but these were in such minority that they were powerless to check the general progress of education. Still there were men who raised their voices against the "godless" public school, and against the practice of educating rich and poor together, but the most believed in the schools and loved them.

Horace Mann had done a great work and his hour of triumph was at hand. At the beginning of his new work as Secretary, there were a few good schools and many poor ones; education at public expense was looked upon in good measure as inferior education—education for paupers—the people had not yet learned to give themselves and their private interests to the common good. At the beginning, there was no satisfactory idea of non-sectarian education; school houses were wretched; school reports were poor and unreliable; school officers were careless. Now all was greatly changed. When he left his position as Secretary, good schools were common, poor ones the exception; education was honorable and regarded as productive of the choicest spirit of Americanism; sectarian education was no longer counted supreme, but it was recognized that there is a type of moral and ethical instruction which may be given to all with the greatest profit, and that this might be supplemented by any sectarian education which the administrators may wish to give, in another place and in another way than in the public schools. The school house had been transformed during the ten years following Mr. Mann's report on school houses. The sum raised by self-taxation by the several districts and towns and cities,



and expended for building or repairing of school houses alone was $2,200,000. People were surprised at themselves. The abstracts of returns from the different towns and cities in the state had become far more trustworthy than ever before, and began to be of some practical value as statistics. The reports which he had issued constituted a great body of material on education which was a perfect storehouse for those who wanted to study almost any phase of the subject in a practical way.

Instead of being known as a rising political force, a lawyer of ability and a legislator of state range and personal power, Mr. Mann was now known as the great apostle of education. Foreign lands had heard his name and knew his fame. The children of Massachusetts were devoted to him. The teachers of the schools had seen a great light, and in this light many had found life. To the thousands he had revealed a deeper meaning in life and nature than they had ever dreamed of. In spite of all mistakes, in spite of all luke-warmness, in spite of all opposition, he had made a grand success of the work he had undertaken; he had served the people, and the service he had rendered was beyond anything they had thought or dreamed.

His influence had gone throughout the nation, and when a little later he was elected to Congress, he received often as many as thirty letters a day from various parts of the country, asking advice, counsel and suggestion on various educational topics. "Horace Mann knew how to create and command a crisis"; but the crisis which he created and the conflict which he directed and in which he triumphed, was one which had a beneficent purpose and could have only a glorious



end. By serving others without self-seeking and without reserve, he was himself enlarged. Horace Mann, citizen of Dedham, citizen of Boston, member of the Legislature, highly approved state politician, became Horace Mann, the founder of normal schools, the leader of public education in a state which led all others in the Union, the teacher of a new ideal of public service, and the interpreter and incorporator of those great laws by which a commonwealth extends its influence to modify and direct the whole current of a nation's life.

He did not wholly realize his opportunity or his power, but he had caught a partial vision. He saw better than others of his time, and he set in operation forces which were dominant then, and which to-day are spreading farther and farther, increasing in power, broadening in their application, intensifying in their results—the name of Horace Mann is written on the hearts of those who love the common schools of our country.

Horace Mann had accomplished a marvelous work for Massachusetts, and through her for the whole nation. He was regarded as the special friend of the children of Massachusetts. He often spoke of them with real affection as his eighty thousand children. His feeling of responsibility for them and his determination to protect them against bad teaching and unsanitary conditions are strong proof of the active interest and sound moral judgment of this great reformer.

Mr. Mann was recognized as a national authority on education. Letters came to him touching all phases of this subject. A man in Iowa wishes to establish a military school and he writes Horace Mann to suggest



plans and asks his help in securing the aid of the general government. A Quaker in North Carolina feels that Mr. Mann can give him help in his county and asks him for inspiration and advice. A farmer boy from the prairies of Illinois consults Mr. Mann as to what kind and degree of education is desirable for him. A group of young men interested in debating write him from New York State asking guidance and counsel, and a young lawyer in New York City asks for advice and suggestions.

Horace Mann had already become well known as a public speaker, and in every place where he had spoken, the spirits of those who had been touched by his quickening influence burst into flame and the educational fire was now lighted from a thousand centers. No other man in all the history of American education has done so much to uplift the public mind as Horace Mann. John Wesley said, "The world is my parish," and Horace Mann, about one hundred years later, had the same broad conception of his sphere. Letters came to him from foreign countries. The citizens of France found in him a friend to human liberty and an inspirer of intellectual power. Staid England learned from him many an important lesson, and in the Common Council of London, his words had such a prevailing sway that they reversed the vote and induced the electors to instruct their representative for secular education. The savants of Germany, whose writings and practices had given him many a lesson, turned to him for further counsel and found there the product of their own inspiration, amplified and extended. Far-away Russia, steeped in barbarism, sent now and then disciples to the young republic of the West to learn the

latest educational lesson from Horace Mann. Switzerland, with her lessons of Pestalozzi, turned to America with fellowship and hearty comity.

Youth had found a new champion and a new interpreter. The public mind had been alert for something which should bring the golden age to human society. It had been lo! here and lo! there, for three decades, and now from 1840 to 1850 men recognized that a definite contribution had been made to the progress of civilization. It consisted of the ideal of human development and the power of human accomplishment everywhere in the minds of the people. It consisted in the freedom of thought actually incorporated into public schools, the normal school, teachers' institutes, and school libraries, but, best of all, it was stated and announced to the world in the great mass of educational literature which Horace Mann had written or collected. The Common School Journal which he edited for ten years was widely distributed and widely read, but the twelve Annual Reports, great in their scope and in their thoroughness, forged by mighty toil in the very heat of conflict with pain and tears, became a permanent possession for all men and all times.

It was characteristic of Horace Mann that, when once he gave his thought fully to a subject, he left little to be done in examination, statement or arrangement. His analysis of public education has been so thorough and so complete in all its details that his reports have constituted the great storehouse from which educators have been drawing their materials from that day to this. While these reports show here and there spots of crudeness—bits of territory which he never completely examined—he made such an analysis and such a por-



trayal as left only a minor work to be done by those who followed.

When Horace Mann took up his work as Secretary, he made a very comprehensive survey of the condition of the public schools of the state. The size and situation, condition, number and furnishing of school houses, the manner in which school committees performed their duties, public apathy, incompetency of teachers, all came in for full examination and discussion. Within less than five months after his acceptance, Mr. Mann presented an outline of the condition of education and the work to be accomplished which was made the basis of his future activities. Year by year he issued a masterly report, as a rule choosing some large topic for major consideration, and readjusting, reinforcing and reiterating the important matters and purposes of the past. But his work was not chiefly with the material side of the schools. He believed with all his heart in a great free school, which should teach all the people high ideals of conduct, and create in them a steadfast devotion to the whole community. His idea of making men moral by law is a little too much in evidence, and he seems to have esteemed too highly the value of knowledge, as such, but it must never be forgotten that the teacher was always, to his mind, a person of magnetic personality, whose ideals were fine and high and true. Horace Mann believed that knowledge found its value in the method by which it was imparted and in the use to which it was applied.

Every man writes and lives out of his own experience, and it is not to be wondered at that Horace Mann, remembering his early advantages from the library at Franklin, looked to a similar agency for one of the

forces to bring about the educational revival in Massachusetts. This he would accomplish by means of a great system of libraries, widely distributed over the State. Each was to have a collection of books recommended by men of character and ability, and finally approved by the members of the Board of Education. Throughout his early experiences Mr. Mann placed great stress upon the value of facts for their power to redeem wayward human nature, but the experience of more recent times has not sustained this confidence in mere knowledge. As an evidence of Horace Mann's estimation of knowledge in itself, the following quotation from the Life of Richard Henry Dana is of interest:

"1847—August:—I had, in July, the most extraordinary conversation with Horace Mann, of the Board of Education, that an author, I suspect, ever had with a critic. He wrote me last spring a curious letter, intimating that the Board of Education wished to publish my book, 'Two Years,' in their series, and the object of the letter was substantially to inform me that they would do so if I would make the book worthy of this honor, by amending it, giving more information, making it more useful, etc. I replied, telling him I had no rights in the book, as the manuscript was sold to the Harpers, and added, which was intended as ironical, that otherwise I ought to be obliged to them, etc., for an opportunity to make emendations under their advice.

"A few weeks later Mr. Mann entered the office. I had always feared I had hurt his feelings, and I fully expected either an apology or a complaint. Judge of my surprise to find that he had taken me literally. He was glad that I had been so ready to take the suggestions of the Board. I asked him, out of curiosity, what improvements they would suggest. He gravely pro-



ceeded to state the defects of the work and the improvements he and others of the Board would suggest. He thought the book fell off in interest at the close, that the concluding chapter was wanting in the true, humane and philanthropic spirit (as an excuse he kindly intimated that it was probably hastily written), and that the book should contain more valuable information, which would be useful to young persons, statistical information and facts as to the countries I visited, their resources, productions and the habits of the people. I entered into a defence of the book and led him on, to see what his notions were. He finally gave me to understand that the interest and value of a book consisted in its moral teachings and the information it conveyed as to matters of fact. A narrative, a description, had no value except as it conveyed some moral lesson or some useful fact. The narrative was a mere vehicle for conveying knowledge. He thought my narrative interested persons, and therefore should be made use of for valuable purposes, as a gilding to a pill, as a mode of getting the attention of the readers, especially the young, to various information, statistical, etc., which I might interweave with it.

"I suggested the idea that there was such a thing as unity in a book. That mine was simply a descriptive narrative, and that to make it statistical and didactic would destroy its character almost as much as it would that of a drama. I said it had life, and that the course he proposed would stop the circulation of the blood. But this was all 'leather and prunella' to him. He had but one idea in his head, and that was the idea of a school-master gone crazy, that direct instruction on matters of fact was the only worthy object of all books."*

With this idea of the value of facts, Horace Mann introduced a great pedagogical principle into the series

*Biography of Richard Henry Dana, Vol. I, p. 117, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

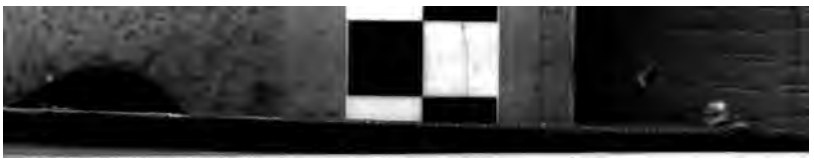


of arithmetics issued jointly by himself and Pliny Chase of Philadelphia, just after his retirement from the Board of Education. The fundamental advantage of the series is found in the fact that the student might acquire knowledge of many other things while learning arithmetic.

"Cicero observes that the face of a man will be tinged by the sun for whatever purpose he may walk abroad. So by daily familiarity, the mind of the student will be replenished by a scientific spirit, although the acquisition of the facts and the spirit may not be the direct object of his study."

The knowledge of any one truth acts as the introducer and interpreter between us and all its kindred truths. The problems were derived from examples in biography, geography, phrenology and history; from educational, financial, commercial and civil statistics; from the laws of light and electricity, of sound and motion, of chemistry and astronomy; trades, handicrafts and the useful arts. The plan was entirely that of Mr. Mann, and he collected a part of the material, but the definitions, rules, statements, questions, and arrangement of topics were the work of Mr. Chase. It was a successful series, but has long ago gone out of use, though the same idea has several times reappeared in a modified form.

Horace Mann was an educational statesman, and every phase of education that he touched was viewed from a statesman's standpoint. He looked at things in a large and practical way. The details of personal instruction, and the method of growth of the individual human soul, he left to others to work out. The people of the state and nation found in him a great announcer,



and his message, backed by his learning and personal power, was made effective by the keenness of its phrasing and the tremendous earnestness of its proclaimer.

That was the day in which personal opinions were regarded as the property of the community, and the private views of public men as subject to full investigation and discussion. Mr. Mann's theological opinions had often been called in question by the orthodox element which witnessed with alarm his liberal attitude on many theological questions. It must be remembered that this was a time of extreme sectarian bitterness, and that the distinction between a deep and earnest Christianity, consisting chiefly in life, on the one hand, and the teachings of the creed, on the other, was not very well defined. A broad humanitarianism then had but slight sway in the general conception of public affairs.

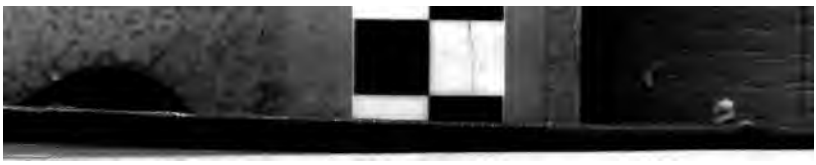
No people are so difficult to deal with nor so relentless in pursuit of their opponents as those who feel that their faith has been attacked. Massachusetts was a field that had sorely suffered in that way. Many of the stately old congregations had experienced a change of religious opinions. This had gone on apace with unsuspected growth and had resulted in so radical a difference in belief and policy that any union between liberal and conservative was no longer possible, and in the great schism provoked by the introduction of Unitarianism, many of the churches had gone over bodily to the new faith, or the church organizations had divided in great bitterness. This was a sore spot for New England and for Massachusetts in particular.

Many leaders of thought, with excellent intentions and a real desire to advance the interests of the Com-



monwealth, felt that the hour had come for a strong defense of their creeds. They were the conservators of the religious life of the people. Harvard College had been lost to orthodoxy in New England, and might not this new Board of Education be a scheme by which the Unitarian doctrine should be widely disseminated through the influence of the State? And worst of all, the normal schools, established to prepare teachers for the children of the Commonwealth—these were to be taught by men of Unitarian sympathies and in harmony with a Board, presided over by a Secretary known to be in full accord with the Unitarian tendency of the times! Accordingly there sprang up defenders of the faith. Many of them acted from honest motives, though a few were vigorous in their attacks only that they might restore a standing which had already become questionable in their communities. The most important of these contests was that between Rev. Matthew Hale Smith and Horace Mann.

The restlessness of the orthodox community had so far taken hold upon the public that Rev. Matthew Hale Smith, at one time a Universalist, but later a rigid Calvinist, saw his opportunity to make a vigorous, and, as he thought, a profitable attack on the Board of Education. Accordingly, on the wave of a great agitation in behalf of moral education in the community, Mr. Smith preached a sermon under the title "The Ark of God on a New Cart." This sermon dealt with the various deficiencies of society, but found a climax for its attacks in the work and plans of the Board of Education, particularly as represented by Mr. Mann. The contest was a battle of giants. Like all contests carried on by the Secretary and his companions, this



one abounded in pamphlets marked by a strength of personality and a bitterness of attack and reply. On both sides there was a disposition to discount the motives of opponents.

After the affair was over, Thomas Kinnicutt wrote to Mr. Mann:

"I have read your reply to Rev. Matthew Smith, if in fact there is such a gentleman in existence at this present moment, of which I have some doubt since your system of annihilation has been brought to bear upon him."

The friends of the Board of Education stood strongly by Mr. Mann, but one cannot doubt that Mr. Smith made a good case, and when it is remembered that these were times of serious and bitter contests waged in support of creed, there is little doubt that many of the citizens of the Commonwealth really feared that the teachings encouraged by the Board of Education were dangerous to the moral health and religious welfare of the community.

In one of Mr. Smith's later pamphlets, he closes by saying that he considered Mr. Mann officially a bad man, bad in his theory and unscrupulous in the means by which he carried out his plans, and urged that

"If he is not checked, and that right early, a lasting blight will settle down upon the fair heritage of New England. I leave Mr. Mann's theories to the verdict of a moral and religious people. To them I propose this sentiment—Horace Mann, as Secretary of the Board of Education, Psalm 109, 8th verse." [Let his days be few; and let another take his office.]

Mr. Mann takes up, item by item, all the various aspects of the topics urged by Mr. Smith. There are



three chief propositions: 1st, that the Board was making an effort to put the Bible out of the public school; 2d, that neither the Board nor its Secretary was favorable to the use of the rod in school; and 3d, that the common school libraries had accepted books that inculcated the most deadly heresy, "even universal salvation." On all these points, Mr. Mann cited the general course of his conduct and the attitude of the Board, to show that the charges were untrue, and that whatever he had done had been accomplished with the utmost desire to serve the whole people of the Commonwealth and to avoid invasion of private rights. Mr. Mann secured abundant support from orthodox citizens and men high in the esteem of the public, and whoever examines the questions of dispute to-day must smile at the detailed way in which he proceeded to demolish the arguments of his opponents and to pulverize the last bit of foundation on which they could stand.

Early in the controversy, Mr. Smith had offered a quotation from Webster with reference to the Girard College case and made an attempt to run a parallel between Mr. Girard's position and that of the Massachusetts Board of Education.*

Horace Mann had shown that this parallel did not apply, and, in closing his argument with Mr. Smith, also had recourse to a quotation from Mr. Webster, introducing this with the statement, "I think this will bring your conduct and yourself very vividly to the minds of your readers."

"Sir, this person's mind is so grotesque, so bizarre,

*The Great Speeches and Orations of Daniel Webster, p. 506.



it is rather a caricature of a mind than a mind. When we see a man of some knowledge and some talents, who is yet incapable of producing anything true or useful, we sometimes apply to him a phrase borrowed from the mechanics; we say, 'there is a screw loose somewhere!' In this case the screws are loose all over. The whole machine is out of order, disjointed, rickety, crazy, creaking, as often upside down as upside up; as often hurting as helping those who use it, and generally incapable of anything but bungling and mischief."

For a long time there were ill-natured statements and interviews against the Board of Education, but the wave of opposition had spent itself and the cause of public education went steadily onward. The Board of Education would not be required again to fight for its life, and it had seen the last serious controversy with the forces of blinded conservatism. Horace Mann was in frequent receipt of the most encouraging letters. The leading citizens of the community told him again and again that he had wrought a great work for Massachusetts. Letters like the following voice the rising sentiment of the time:

"BOSTON, Feb. 5, 1848.

"My dear Sir,

". . . . For the copy of your Eleventh Annual Report, I thank you. I have read it with care, and consider it a masterly plea in the cause of man, of human progress, of morality. It will be long, doubtless, before even the Old Bay State will present a living example of your 'beau ideal' of a community performing its whole duty toward its rising race and to itself; but still, I am glad you have shown what *can* be done and what *ought* to be done, for I am confident that it will have a beneficial effect. Much more will be attempted from having the point fixed higher, than if comparatively low aims were suggested. The good



cause is indisputably advancing on all sides. And if you should be so fortunate as to bring about all that your plan, unfolded in the Report, proposes, Horace Mann would be *the* benefactor of New England! There are those who are ready to award the title to him *now;* but in the other case, the voice of the whole *Yankee Nation* would proclaim it! God grant that you may live to enjoy it!"

One of the choicest of the rewards that came to Horace Mann was the testimonial sent to him by a number of the leading citizens of Boston, in which they bore glad testimony to the priceless value of the common school and to the new ideal of this institution which he had established among them. They pledged themselves to the country's good and to the advancement of the cause so dear to his heart, and closed with these eloquent words:

". . . . By the mass of your labors you have contributed essentially to the happiness and prosperity of the Commonwealth, and to its fame abroad. Your name helps to make the name of Massachusetts respectable throughout our own country and in distant lands. If then it be true, as has been said, that he is a benefactor who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, how much more is he a benefactor, who infuses new energies into a whole people, doubling in ten thousand souls the capacities for usefulness and happiness. To you as the author of so much good, we wish to offer our sincere thanks. We feel a debt of gratitude, which it will always be a pleasure, still paying, still to owe. These are not mere words, but the spontaneous tribute of the heart.

"In the contemplation of the successful results of your labors, you must find springs of encouragement to which little can be added by any words of ours. Such words would be drowned in the voice of the good



you have done, speaking from the past, and bidding you to be of good cheer for the future.

"Let hope elevate and joy brighten your countenance!

"But we cannot dissemble from you what you discern so much more clearly than ourselves, that, altho' much has been done, much remains to be done. In the warfare with ignorance, there is neither peace nor neutrality. The enemy is always among us, in extensive encampments, wakeful and ready for the contest. In this warfare you are our leader. Our services and sympathies will be always at your command. We would join with you on all possible occasions, and in all possible ways, to advance the cause to which your life is devoted.

"May God continue to give you strength for your labors and may the happiness which you have diffused among your fellowmen be reflected in your own fireside!

"We are, dear sir, with sentiments of affection and respect, your sincere friends."*

In reply, Mr. Mann said:

Gentlemen:

I have this day received from the hands of your Committee your letter of the 13th. Courtesy and the promptings of gratitude forbid delay and I therefore sit down to acknowledge it. I sit down to acknowledge it, not to answer it. Such a letter cannot be answered by words but only by deeds. Nor can I promise to answer it by deeds; but if

*Signed by Josiah Quincy, G. F. Thayer, G. B. Emerson, G. S. Hillard, Edward Jarvis, Wm. H. Thayer, Jos. H. Abbot, C. F. Barnard, Wm. Brigham, M. S. Perry, Jas. H. Mills, Jos. S. Sleeper, Francis Bowen, R. W. Bayley, J. F. Burnstead, Thos. Cushing, Jr., C. C. Felton, Edw. G. Loring, Chas. Sumner, Ezra S. Gannett, Stephen Fairbanks, Wm. B. Fowle, Jos. W. Ingraham, Henry W. Longfellow, R. C. Waterston, S. G. Howe, Chas. Sedgwick, Chas. H. Dillaway, Nath. H. Emmons, Chas. Brooks, T. P. Chandler, J. F. Flagg, John D. Fisher, G. Francis Thayer.



you accept the feeble language of endeavor, my life shall speak it.

Your letter brings into view some of the noblest prerogatives of a state—the spread of worldly competence among the masses of men, the illumination of the public mind, the elevation of the public morals, and the cultivation of the human soul in its high and sacred relations to men and to God; and in the spirit of kindness and encouragement, you have been pleased to connect my name with the picture you have drawn. Gentlemen, that picture is an admirable one, but tho' I covet it, I dare not call it my own. If I sat for one of its features, it shows rather the skill of the limner than the aspect of the subject. Yet, while I am afraid to enjoy its application to myself, I cannot but deeply rejoice in the personal kindness and goodwill which prompted you to delineate it. Tho' conscious that I am not, yet with all my heart I desire to be, the character that you described. Tho' I have not done the acts which your favor has imputed to me, yet, if I have any earthly ambition, it is to do them. If you will allow me to change the time from the past to the future; and if you will accept desires for efforts toward fulfillment, I will endeavor that the qualities you have portrayed shall not be wholly and forever a creation of fancy.

Believing in my inmost soul that they are most blest of God upon earth, who are able to do the most good to man, I long to possess some evidence of this kind, of a share of the divine favor; and I cannot but regard those as my best friends who increase my disposition or my power to make this seal and testimony my own. This, gentlemen, you have done. None of us work with underived energies, and with whatever zeal and energy I may hereafter labor, I shall be always happy to refer no inconsiderable portion of them to so elevated and



pure a source as your encouragement and sympathy.

I am, most sincerely and affectionately, your devoted friend,

HORACE MANN.

Mrs. Mann sent a brief letter of thanks to Charles Sumner, who was instrumental in the adoption of this testimonial. His answer throws still further light upon the relationship between Charles Sumner and Horace Mann, princes of New England life:

My dear Mrs. Mann:

My humble agency in the tribute to your husband has been most richly rewarded by your beautiful letter, letting me know that pleasure has been received where it was our desire that it should be received. We are all his debtors, more than all can pay. But I cannot forbear adding at this moment, if you will pardon my freedom, my peculiar and private gratitude to your husband for his friendship, and for the blessed influence of his friendship and character. His disinterested devotion to the good of others, the highest charm of humanity, early filled me with admiration and reverence; and if there is anything in me (I am conscious of very little, too little) that would lead me to think of others, I am indebted for it, in a great degree, to him. His days shall be days of happiness and peace, for they are filled with goodness.

Believe me, sincerely yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

At the dedication of the Bridgewater Normal School, in 1846, Horace Mann expressed his gratitude for the wonderful success of the educational revival:

"Among all the lights and shadows that have crossed my path, this day's radiance is the brightest. Two



years ago, I would have been willing to compromise for ten years' work, as hard as any I ever performed, to have been assured that at the end of that period I should see what our eyes this day behold."

The success of the new movement was no longer a question. Horace Mann had triumphed, but in dignity and forbearance, and with a mere mention of the success of the Normal Schools, he pledges himself for teacher's institutes, for union schools, and for the general advancement of this great work of education.

At the close of his Secretaryship in 1848, some gentlemen of the Legislature brought forward a bill to reimburse Horace Mann, in part, for the money which he had expended from his private funds for the advancement of education. When requested to give some account of his expenses, he told them that all had been bestowed without expectation of reward. He said that he must take care of his honor; the State was the proper judge of its own. If the State chose to consider any part of the sums which he had paid as paid on its account, it would be gratefully received, both as a token of its appreciation and as the refunding of the money which he must otherwise lose.

"But let what will come," said he, "no poverty, and no estimate of my services, however low, can ever make me repine that I have sought by all the means and talents at my command to lay broader and deeper the foundations of the prosperity of our Commonwealth, and to elevate its social and moral character among its confederate states in the eyes of the world."

Horace Mann had not only gained the reward of public approval: he had retained his personal independence and greatness of soul.



After careful investigation, which disclosed far greater sacrifices than any one of his friends had known of, the Legislature voted him a lump sum of $2,000, saying in resolution:

"The committee do not propose, as they feel confident that it would not be agreeable to Mr. Mann, to make out an exact account of what the State may owe him in dollars and cents. He does not desire, nor would he be willing to be fully reimbursed; but, before all the money that the treasury of the Commonwealth contains, he prefers to cherish the happy and noble thought, that he has labored and suffered in her behalf. He asks for nothing and has no voluntary agency in this movement. Nothing would be more repugnant to his well-known sensibilities than to have a claim urged upon the State for an exact settlement of his accounts with it upon mere business principles. What he has done, he meant, at the time, for a gift; and the committee do not propose to deprive him of the title of benefactor. They do not propose to *pay him off;* but, under the circumstances, they are of opinion that the passage of the following resolve, although not amounting by half to what, upon strict computation, is equitably due to him, would be more agreeable to his feelings than a more precise remuneration."*

The period of his secretaryship saw the triumph of large interests over public apathy, official indifference, professional conservatism, private greed, sectarian narrowness, personal jealousy and the bitterness of human passions. The result of this united effort of the friends of human progress was the planting of the non-sectarian public school, a school free from bonds of creed and bigotry, but thrilling with the moral life which makes conduct the great aim in all its instruc-

*Life, p. 584.

tion. A school for the whole people, rich and poor, native and foreign, with such recognition of their God-given endowments and of the ties of human brotherhood as looks toward that day when we shall in truth know that "God has made of one blood, all nations of men." It was an ideal worth the planting in the new republic, in the land of the West, saved through the centuries to be the great theatre for the working out of the drama of human liberty among the children of men.

It seems that God himself had chosen the hour, the place and the man. France had already staggered out from under the bonds of a blighted and outworn feudalism. England was full of the agitation to secure to the common people the right to live and to grow. Tennyson was singing of the great achievements of science and the rising tide of human progress. F. D. Maurice was sounding anew, and strongly, the needs and rights of man. F. W. Robertson was pleading for a religion lighted by the great spirit of God in the world; and so Europe had awakened from its long lethargy and was groping blindly towards the growing light. But the place of all places for this work was New England, and the center was Massachusetts. A territory settled by men who had braved the perils of the wilderness for freedom to think and to pray. The Pilgrim lived in the immediate presence of the Omnipotent God. His work day by day was done in the light of the eternities, and he answered to the Almighty with fear and trembling. But he held himself accountable only to God in politics and religion. His was a gloomy faith, which had in itself the seeds of a most reasonable and blessed reformation.

Horace Mann came in the midst of such a reformation.



The scales which had been borne down for long years with the majesty and absolutism of God, were beginning to turn to the recognition of worth and truth in man. He never worked out this new philosophy, but he caught its spirit and he lived among a people who were finding its deep lessons. The magic charm of transcendentalism had touched the minds of New England, and this sane reformer, with his high ideals, with his lofty aspirations, with the spirit of the Puritan and the breadth of the humanitarian, with his great mind—the mind of a statesman and a philanthropist—came to the people with healing in his touch and the beauty of a new life beaming from his face. He had found one more jewel which in the quest of the ages goes to make up the crown of humanity.

But all this had been wrought not without sacrifice, toil and pain. For eleven years he worked nearly fifteen hours a day, putting into every detail of his labor the most painstaking conscience and the most complete devotion, having started with a body none too strong and having toiled with an intemperance beyond all reason. He recognized his growing weakness, and his friends expressed their deep concern lest the life that was now so precious to the Commonwealth should be cut off before its time.

He had been trained to the law. He had held, with great credit to himself and to the satisfaction of the people, places of political trust and responsibility; and when he entered the work of education, he and they felt that it was done at the cost of progress in a great political career.

While the work of education had been going on with such high success in Massachusetts, the whole country

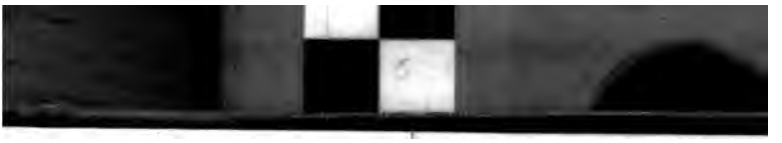


had been rapidly approaching an acute stage on the question of human slavery. Massachusetts as usual was in the forefront of the contest. Her own sons were thinking on the question, but not a few of them had gone beyond that and entered into the stage of feeling. The Abolitionists had been agitating, agitating, agitating, until the mind of the Commonwealth was greatly inflamed on the subject. Their foremost political champion had for years been John Quincy Adams, the Old Man Eloquent, a man of hardihood, bravery and determination; a man so great that, after being Minister to England, Secretary of State and President of the United States, he could go simply and greatly to serve as a member of the lower house of Congress. There he had carried on such a battle for freedom of debate and for the right of petition, as has been waged at no other time or place in the history of the republic. Apparently hard, cold and pitiless, he waged a war which sought no end but victory. It was a time when other men compromised; when other men sought the things which would be acceptable, or at least not displeasing, to all the men who dealt in human flesh and blood; but day after day, Mr. Adams gave himself with a stubborn determination to win from the hostile majority the privilege of petition and the freedom of public debate on that painful and bitterly hated subject. By every force that he could summon, he demanded larger recognition in the legislative halls of the country for the cause which had won his heart. Yesterday he brought in a petition asking that slavery be discontinued in the District of Columbia; to-day he presents a petition asking that the union existing between the several states be



dissolved because in some of them the fundamental provisions of the Constitution are not observed; to-morrow he will bring in a petition asking that certain run-away slaves who had been restored to their owners should be set free. Such for long years are his round of duties, day by day, until by sheer persistence and ability he wears out his opponents and wins from a hostile majority the right of petition.

But in that very hour in which Mr. Adams had won an unwilling recognition for the great principles for which he had been contending, he was stricken with paralysis and left the scenes of his struggles and earthly triumphs to enter another, let us hope a better, world, where the right of petition shall never be denied, and where the human spirit may be free to grow forever. Great was the tribute given to his name; but the active, aggressive, tireless Massachusetts, which so long had desired to give pattern and direction to national life, could not abide for a moment that his place should be vacant, or that it should be filled by one who was only to mark time. And as the friends of human freedom looked about them, their eyes fell upon Horace Mann, and he was called by his fellow citizens of the Eighth District of Massachusetts into the heat of this new conflict.



CHAPTER VII

IN CONGRESS

Mr. Adams had been kept in Congress by a district that was full of political ferment. People in every quarter of the State were vigorous and even violent in discussing the question of human rights. Massachusetts was rightly regarded as the storm center of the country, and the Eighth District was the storm center of Massachusetts. The fearless leader and relentless champion of human rights had passed away and there was need of an able successor.

Three or four men were considered for the place of the fallen leader, but first in the thought of all was Horace Mann. True, he had been out of politics for more than ten years, and he had denied himself to all political meetings in order that his work in the Board of Education might not be hindered, but such was the history and spirit of the man that none could doubt his fidelity. In the contest with the Boston Masters, he had proved himself a fighter of no mean ability. In organizing the great campaigns for education in Massachusetts, he had proved himself strong, skilful, alert and effective. Massachusetts wanted such a man in Congress, and on April 3, 1848, Horace Mann was chosen to succeed John Quincy Adams. The contest was an interesting one, but from the first his election was assured.

A most graceful and courteous incident of the cam-



paign is portrayed in the letter given below. It was known that Mr. Whitaker, his Democratic opponent, was to visit West Newton, and Mr. Mann sent him an invitation to be his guest at dinner. In answer Mr. Whitaker wrote:

Dear Sir:

Your kind note of yesterday has reached me. A railroad case, to which I have given much of my time for two or three years past, is now absorbing all my attention. We are in the midst of the hearing before the Committee. On the afternoon of Tuesday next, we are to introduce testimony from Newton and other towns upon the line of the proposed railroad. If possible, I should be much gratified to spend the morning at Newton, as I am deeply interested in the prosperity of our Normal School. But you will permit me to decline the invitation to dine with you for the reason above stated.

For the friendly expressions contained in your note, I feel grateful. If the respect of my fellow men is to be coveted, to be favored by your regard is no slight honor.

In respect to the Congressional election, I entertain no doubts as to the result. Unquestionably our district will elect you on the first trial; if not, on the second, your success is certain.

Of course, as a candidate for the Democratic party, I cannot, in any sense, prove a formidable opponent. The party, therefore, with which I am associated, having omitted the nomination of a stronger man, and the Liberty party having been denied the privilege to rally to the support of W. Jackson, it seems to me to be clear enough that the mantle of Mr. Adams is destined to be yours.

In conclusion permit me to say that my share of the honor in this Congressional election is twofold; namely, in being nominated as a successor



to John Quincy Adams and in having you as an antagonist. The parallel would cease if, in the contest, I should win. Under such circumstances, aside from political considerations, I shall not grieve at defeat.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,
E. K. WHITAKER.

Those who think of Mr. Mann only as an educator, will at first find themselves at a loss to explain his entrance into political life, but who can better explain than does Mr. Mann himself, in a letter to his friend, George Combe, of Edinburg, a fellow worker in the cause of humanity?

"To GEORGE COMBE, Esq.

". . . . Can I justify myself for having laid down an educational office and taken up a political one? I can say truly, on my part, the change was an involuntary one. After the nomination was made, I prepared an answer, peremptorily declining it. But various collateral incidents and accidental causes led a council of my best friends to decide that I should reverse my purpose. Among other considerations, I think a regard for my health was the most decisive; and if my health or life are worth anything, they were right. I now verily believe that another year, without aid and without relaxation, would have closed my labors upon earth. On the 13th of April I went to Washington. Soon after, I resigned my Secretaryship; but the Board, not being prepared to appoint a successor, requested me to continue to discharge its duties till the close of the year. This I consented to do, especially as it would afford me an opportunity to make a final report—a peroration to the rest. Thus, instead of being a relay, I was made to run double stages—to perform the duties of a member of Congress, and by correspondence to carry on the Secretaryship." . . .

"When I was first offered the nomination for



Congress I had serious doubts about accepting it; but it was in my twelfth year as Secretary of the Board of Education; and while acting in this capacity I was under the trammels of neutrality between all sects and parties. It was just at the crisis when the destiny of our new Territory of about six hundred thousand square miles in extent was about to be determined. All of human history that I ever knew respecting the contest for political and religious freedom, and my own twelve years' struggle to imbue the public mind with an understanding not merely of the law, but of the spirit of religious liberty, had so magnified my horror of all forms of slavery, that even the importance of education itself seemed for the moment to be eclipsed."

The summons came as a new call to duty, and Horace Mann answered it as always, without fear and without delay. His training in law, in the lower house of the legislature, in the senate, and as Secretary of the Board of Education, had admirably fitted him for the new position, and taught him to lay far-reaching plans to secure the co-operation of his fellow citizens in the establishment and maintenance of the highest ideals.

His experience as the champion of a great cause had enlarged and intensified all the better qualities of his nature. His experience as a fighter in this position was both a weakness and a strength. It was a weakness in that he felt that he could undertake the same kind of attack and defense in the larger field and with opponents of a different type. It was a strength in that it had proved his great courage, energy and ability.

Such was Horace Mann when his name was enrolled among the giants. It is often held that Congress has no great men, but at that period of the country's history, great men were not lacking. In his "Politi-



cal Recollections," George W. Julian thus speaks of the Congress of which Horace Mann became a member.

"The Thirty-First Congress was not alone remarkable for the great questions it confronted and the shameless recreancy to human justice; it was equally remarkable for its able and eminent men. In the Senate the great triumvirate of Webster, Calhoun and Clay appeared in public life for the last time. With them were associated Benton, Cass, Douglas, Seward, Chase, Bell, Berrien, Soule, Davis of Mississippi, Payton, Hale, Ewing, Corwin, Hamlin, Butler, Houston and Cobb of Georgia, McDowell, Giddings, Preston King, Horace Mann, Marshall, Orr, Schenck, Stanley, Toombs, Alexander H. Stevens and Vinton. If mere talent could have made good the lack of conscience, the slave power might have been overborne in 1850, and the current of American history turned into the channels of liberty and peace."*

Mr. Mann's career in Congress was marked by a course of events in full harmony with his spirit and history. There was earnest devotion to human liberty, with great sympathy for human suffering, and remarkable insight into the means by which this might be alleviated. In the largest and best sense, Mr. Mann was a student of sociology, and such a student of sociology as would chiefly apply his energies in a way to make the whole country a better place in which to live. He was a governmental expert who believed in the God-given right of a ruler to serve his people to the best of his knowledge and ability. In a certain true sense, Horace Mann's full work in Congress was less than his friends had hoped. He was not at once relieved from his duties as Secretary of the Board of

* By permission of A. C. McClurg & Company.



Education, and though in Congress, carried on a large correspondence and had a large share of the responsibility for the educational work in Massachusetts. It is true this work was thoroughly organized and established, but it could not do otherwise than demand a great deal of his time, care and effort. These he gave with the heartiest good will, and with the greatest profit to the State. His final report was the worthy conclusion of a long period of noble effort, and neither he nor his friends were disappointed in the result.

But Congress was a new field to him, and though he sympathized strongly with the efforts against slavery, he felt that it was necessary to spend a little time in becoming acquainted with the situation. The Eighth District had grown accustomed to the rapid and aggressive course of Mr. Adams and many of the men were impatient at Mr. Mann's delay. Sumner wrote him urging action. Mr. Mann wrote:

"WASHINGTON, June 24, 1848.

"My dear Sumner:

I think you are rather the hardest taskmaster since Pharaoh; and I am not quite sure that I ought to stop with that old Egyptian scamp.

"You know I am not only acting-Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, and now keeper of a sort of intelligence office on certain subjects for the whole country, (in which capacity I have literally had thirty letters to open and answer in a day since I have been here) but you also know that I came into the class here when the other members of it had read the book half through; so that I had the back lessons all to make up. You also wanted me to undertake the defense of the 'Pearl' prisoners, who will be arraigned next week, probably on Wednesday—on how many indictments



do you think? I expect two hundred and forty-five. I shall write again when I am certain. You have been drumming me up for a speech in the House and now you want me to go to Worcester. Is not all this a little too bad?

With all Mr. Mann's devotion to the cause to which he had sworn allegiance anew, it is interesting and gratifying to note his disposition to preserve his independence. In his letter accepting the nomination he first states that he, or any other man now living, will be unable adequately to fill the place left vacant by Mr. Adams. He then quotes the resolutions adopted by the Whigs as follows:

(1) Resolved, That the successor of Mr. Adams should be a man whose principles shall be in consonance with those of his predecessor.

(2) Resolved, That his fidelity to the great principles of human freedom should be unwavering.

(3) Resolved, That his voice and vote shall on all occasions be exercised in extending and securing liberty to the human race.

Mr. Mann says he is in sympathy with these resolutions and will try to fill Mr. Adams's place as best he can, and then takes up the resolutions in detail.

"(1) 'In consonance with those of his predecessor.' I believe it was the sovereign rule of Mr. Adams's life to act in obedience to his convictions of duty. Truth was his guide."

"(2) The Declaration of Independence was the first complete assertion of human rights. France, Holland, Belgium, the German Federation, Prussia, Austria, Naples, Sicily and Rome have felt its influence and taken steps toward larger freedom. 'To what bar of judgment will our posterity bring us; what doom



of infamy will history pronounce upon us, if the United States shall hereafter be found the only portion of Christendom where the principles of our own Declaration of Independence are violated in the persons of millions of our own people?' "

"(3) 'His vote and voice shall on all occasions be exercised in extending and securing human liberty.' This is a great crisis. A vast territory, much larger than the thirteen original states, is to be admitted. Shall slavery be allowed to crush out the nobleness and lower the standards of its millions of inhabitants?"

Horace Mann agreed that he should exert all his efforts to secure liberty. "Of course, I do not understand you to imply any violation of the Constitution of the United States which every representative swears to support. Should your nomination therefore be accepted and be successful, it must be with the implicit understanding between us that I shall always be open to receive the advice of my constituents; shall always welcome their counsel; always be grateful for their suggestions; but that in the last resort, my own sense of duty must be the only arbiter."*

The commencement of the session in December was full of excitement. There was a contest of three months in the selection of a speaker. From the first Mr. Mann received a few votes. He had been elected as a Whig candidate and he voted throughout with the Whigs for Robert C. Winthrop. The Free-soilers distrusted Mr. Winthrop as an anti-slavery man, and Cobb of Georgia, a violent pro-slavery man, was chosen speaker. Some of the Free-soilers were anxious to hold Mr. Mann up to censure for supporting Mr.

* Result of election: Mann 4254—Whitaker 2290—others 1065.



Winthrop, but he wrote to a friend that he only wished that they would give him half an excuse for making a public answer on this subject, as he would make his course so clear that none could doubt it.

He had taken his seat on April 13th, and the days slipped away from springtime into early summer. Now the hour had come for Mr. Mann to speak. It was on June 30th, 1848, that he made his first speech, and the subject was "Slavery in the Territories." It was a masterly oration, pronounced with rare delicacy, skill and courtesy. It was full of the best oratory, argument and illustration, and brought him congratulations from the friends of freedom in the House, in his district and throughout the country. Not a few sympathizers with his cause in the South wrote him hearty letters of endorsement and approval.

He was among great men and great questions. He worked steadily and strongly, but the hour had not come for the accomplishment of those large things to which his spirit had been given in complete surrender. So there is little wonder that he thus writes to his wife in West Newton:

"WASHINGTON, April 28, 1848.

"I take one or two walks every day in the grounds at the east of the Capitol—such green grass, such beautiful flowers, such singing of birds! I can send you a few flowers. I wish I could send you half an hour of birds' singing. We have a bird here that I never saw in Massachusetts, without beauty of color but with voice like a canary."

"WASHINGTON, June 20, 1848.

". . . . Toward evening these hot days, I take a walk around the Capitol grounds and on the great wide, semi-circular paved walk immediately in



front; that is, the west front of the Capitol. You can hardly conceive how beautiful this is. The lawns and cultivated trees and flowers below; the city stretched out to Georgetown in the west; the Pennsylvania Avenue, a mile long, terminating at the White House, immediately in front; the Potomac in the distance, and the loveliest of all skies above, make one of the most beautiful scenes that I have ever beheld."

And again:

"WASHINGTON, Dec. 28, 1848.

". . . . I go out almost every morning and also before dinner and take my exercise on the wood pile, and with my settled habits and caution about diet, I get along very well. But it is not a life at all congenial to me. The great question of freedom or slavery is the only one worthy to keep me here. If I had the means of living, even in a scant way, I should be greatly tempted to forswear Congress forever."

And again he writes:

". . . . My life here is exceedingly monotonous and unvaried. I go about very little and see but few people unless when in session."

Another picture of his relation to Congressional life is seen in these few lines to Rev. Austin Craig, a brother in spirit:

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 26, 1853.

"Dear Sir,

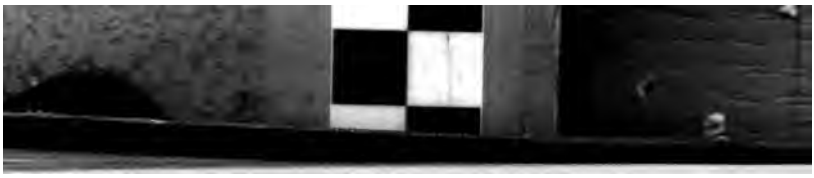
"Can a clergyman, 'elevated' sixty miles out of a city, sitting in his manse, with hardly a sound about him save the pleasant ones of waving trees or flowing water, understand the hounded, badgered, tormented, fragmentary life of an M. C. in Washington?"



But Horace Mann's duties in Washington were not to be confined to the routine business of the House and pleasant walks about the Capitol and grounds. He felt that he was a watchman on the walls of the American Zion, and when Webster's 7th of March speech was delivered, it seemed to him like the explosion of a mine beneath the fort he was defending.

At this distant time, it is hardly possible to realize the mighty place which Webster held in the minds and hearts of Massachusetts. For a generation he had been the idol of New England. He had spoken at the laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument, and at its dedication, his was the voice that consecrated it a memorial to human liberty. There are times in the lives of all men when, unknown to themselves, their surroundings little by little sap their vitality, vigor and consecration; their ideals sink; their ambitions fail; their devotion to truth wanes; and the onlookers, who have not seen this slow disintegration, face a crisis in human experience which comes to them with all the force of a sudden catastrophe. When, along with other temptations, there comes the master temptation of ambition, the hunted apostle of truth may find himself changed to an advocate of compromise, and such a compromise as cannot be made without shame. This had been the experience of Daniel Webster. Time and again, his friends had tried to place the great defender of the Constitution in the White House, and after every effort had failed, his longing, his ambition, his desire, were not less, but more.

There is little doubt that Webster was really a patriot. We must never forget the wide outlook, the intense feeling and the great devotion to certain



theories of government which marked Webster, Clay and Calhoun. But each was devoted to a theory of government which he believed to be the only right one.

Webster knew more deeply the feelings and conditions of the whole nation than did most of the citizens of his state. Others had said that the words of Southern statesmen were but idle threats; that the Southern states would make no effort to secede from the Union, and that the whole talk was but a storm of Southern bravado. Webster knew that the same blood coursed in the veins of the South as in those of the North, and that their devotion to their ideals was not less strong, and their love of country not less ardent than that which reigned in Northern bosoms. Moved by the great companions with whom he had often struggled and whom he had come deeply to respect, and believing with them that a great rupture between North and South was impending, there is little wonder that he persuaded himself to make his 7th of March speech with the hope that it would help in deferring the impending doom. Under it all, there doubtless lurked something of his unsatisfied ambition for the presidential office and the hope that his devotion to the Union and his disposition to place the interests of the whole country above the interests of his section might lead to public favor for him from other sections.

But it was not to be! Massachusetts looked upon his speech as a bid for the votes of the slave power. It raised such a storm of opposition as had not been seen in New England for generations. The conscience of Massachusetts was stirred to its depths. Their great ideal was shattered, but with the grim determination of the Puritans, they gathered to right the wrong.



Though mourning in this hour of sorrow, they were undaunted. It is true the commercial interests were timid, and looked upon him as a man of reserve and moderation, a patriot devoted to the best interest of the whole country. Webster himself was pained and grieved, but was blind to the widespread and bitter feeling which his course had aroused. Of him, Whittier wrote his wonderful poem, Ichabod.*

Mr. Mann, who was in closer touch with the conscience than with the judgment of New England, felt that with such a storm, Mr. Webster could never stand again for public office. With the enthusiasm and wonderful severity of his nature, he made a courteous but tremendously severe attack upon the long-time leader and champion. It was an attack of a kind and from a quarter wholly unexpected by Mr. Webster. At first

*"So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
Which once he wore!
The glory from his gray hairs gone
Forevermore!

"Revile him not,—the Tempter hath
A snare for all;
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,
Befit his fall!

"O, dumb be passion's stormy rage,
When he who might
Have lighted up and led his age,
Falls back in night.

.

"Of all we loved and honored, naught
Save power remains,—
A fallen angel's pride of thought,
Still strong in chains.

"All else is gone; from those great eyes
The soul has fled;
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead!"



he attempted to ignore it, but the vigor of the blows compelled his attention. Never before had he experienced the sore displeasure of his constituents. With wounded heart and broken spirit, like an infuriated lion from his lair in the jungles, Webster savagely and almost brutally retaliated upon Mr. Mann. But Horace Mann was not the one to count the cost of such a contest; he was born of such fibre that, having once entered the fight, it was death or victory. It was a brave thing for him to make conscience, rather than policy, "the man of his counsel," and though in agony of soul, and driven almost to berating those on whom he had expected to lean for support and succor, Horace Mann carried forward the bitter fight with tremendous activity and great vigor; and since he was in conformity with the conscience of New England, with a success which surprised both friends and enemies. The men who were active in the politics of that day have borne eloquent testimony to the course which Mr. Mann pursued. Senator Hoar regarded Mr. Mann's attack as the bravest act of his life, saying it was not only proof of his supreme courage, but the fundamental cause of his large development and the foundation of his political greatness.

Mr. Webster had set forth a certain argument founded upon the physical geography of the country, saying that slavery in New Mexico could not be profitable from the nature of the land. Mr. Mann showed that it was not a question of geography, but a question of morals, and that the human heart, seeded to sin, might enter any country and that it is not restricted by any climate. Webster had held the reverence and admiration of the citizens of the



Commonwealth, but blinded by ambition, and incited by his desire to stand as the champion for the preservation of the Union, he undertook to temporize and counsel moderation at a time when moderation was useless. He had been so long the public leader, with his word unquestioned, that he had not recognized the change in the public conscience, and the storm broke upon him like lightning from the blue heavens. He learned, as all men must learn sooner or later, that no man is greater than all the people; and in a land like ours, master or leader though the statesman may be, he must learn some of his greatest and best lessons from the people themselves.

But there are great shiftings in the great drama. Horace Mann, who is practically in the ascendency, finds that the Grim Reaper has given all the advantage to his adversary. The change was a striking one. General Taylor sickened and died; Fillmore came to the Presidential chair, and called Webster to his Cabinet as Secretary of State. This gave the control of the patronage of New England to Webster, and he decreed that Horace Mann should not be re-elected to Congress.

A Webster follower was nominated by the Whigs; Mr. Mann stood as an independent candidate, believing that right was on his side. He felt hopeful from the first, made a vigorous canvass and was triumphantly elected. This contest was the most important one in Horace Mann's political life, and probably did more than any other single feature of his public life both to make him a great man, and to prove him one.

Mr. Mann's life in Washington City was not unlike that of other new members of Congress. The times



were stirring, but the city was scarcely beyond the village stage.*

People sat on the doorsteps, and intimate friends walked up Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol grounds, attended by the Secretaries, with their heads bare, on fine summer evenings. Mr. Mann had no large number of friends in the city. His striking form, his intellectual face, his gentle courtesy, and luminous smile attracted attention wherever he went. With the carriage, air and manner of an aristocrat, best of men, Mr. Mann mingled the spirit of genuine democracy and greeted door-keepers and pages with cordial words and genial smiles. They were devoted to him and vied with each other in rendering him little services.

In the House Mr. Mann was always heard with profound respect and attention. Even the slave holders, whose policies he denounced most severely, listened attentively, saying, that he gave them arguments and not abuse. Succeeding Mr. Adams in office, and coming into a city with Southern sympathies and instincts, it is not remarkable that Mr. Mann never entered largely into the social life of Washington. He was at first found with men of like political views from the North and East. Later, the great controversy

*It is Mrs. John Sherwood who thus describes life in Washington in Taylor's time. There was a strange jumble of magnificence and squalor. "Dinners were handsome and very social, the talk delightful, but the balls were sparsely furnished with light and chairs. The illumination was of wax and stearine candles, which used to send down showers of spermaceti on our shoulders. Brilliant conversation, however, was the order of the day, and what Washington lacked of the upholsterer it made up in the manners and wit of its great men."—Quoted in "Washington, the Capital City." J. B. Lippincott Company.



between himself and Mr. Webster precluded anything like intimacy between himself and Webster's friends.

In Washington he was known as a great leader in education, and on this subject men from all parts of the country consulted him on occasion. He was interested in the life of the city and attended the more important lectures and concerts when opportunity offered, frequently going in company with some distinguished citizen of New England. He writes most interestingly to Mrs. Mann of an evening spent at a concert given by Jenny Lind.

On Saturday evenings Dr. Bailey, editor of the *National Era*, informally welcomed at his house the proscribed Free-soilers. There, guests came in and went out at their pleasure. The guests talked fast and free and there was no set effort or plan of entertainment, but a hearty, honest conversation with a free expression of ideas and a brilliant interchange of wit. Horace Mann was often found in this company, though early in his residence in Washington always subject to a certain amount of censure from the more radical members of the group.

Had he lived in the stirring times of the Civil War he would have been wise in counsel and mighty in service. A man must belong to the time as well as be willing to do the work.

> "There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> Is bound in shallows, and in miseries."

He neglected no tide, but he came into political life on a slowly rising tide and left it before the tide was at



the full. The conditions which fifteen years later would have made him a commanding figure in the councils of the nation were then lacking, and his record in Congress is but that of a strong man who did his duty and did it well. His marvelous capacity to command a crisis found in Washington no occasion for exercise. He grew tired of the petty exactions and wilful and unwholesome spirit manifested by Congress.

But the difficulties and differences were not all confined to Congress. Most of the advanced leaders of the anti-slavery movement in Massachusetts thought a great deal about their friends who believed in the cause of the slave, but were meanwhile charged with administering the government for the whole people among whom not all had yet espoused the cause of freedom. Horace Mann, in particular, suffered in this regard. He was unusually sensitive to criticism, and did not always discriminate clearly between attacks on his position and attacks upon himself. He was famous for his controversies, and some of them were not to his credit, but he always carried himself with great vigor, and if he did not win, he dealt such savage blows upon his antagonist as to prove himself a fighter of no mean ability. It is necessary to remember the bitterness of the times and the fact that most good men are better able to read the past than to pierce the future. The attitude of the extreme abolitionists is very well stated in a speech by Garrison:

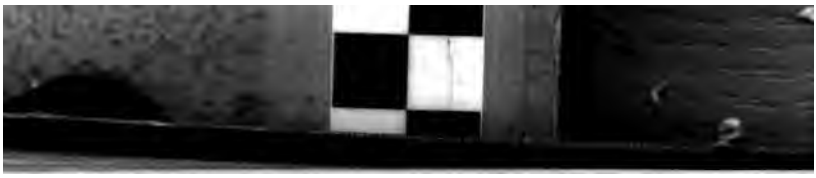
"But the inquiry is raised, 'Why criticise and arraign men like Charles Sumner, Horace Mann and John P. Hale?' Why not criticise and arraign them, if they are at any time found wanting? Who are they, to claim exemption from the strictest scrutiny? Are



they infallible? Are they demi-gods? If they stumble in the dark, shall we raise no warning voice, acting as they do the part of political leaders? Not criticise them!—let them go forward forsooth, because they make good anti-slavery speeches now and then—help the fugitive slave now and then—and manfully resist the usurpation of the Slave Power! Why, Sir, do we not gratefully acknowledge all that they do for the slave, and give them full credit for it? The anti-slavery speeches of Mann, of Sumner, of Hale, of Giddings, I have always gladly printed in the columns of the Liberator (loud applause) and I think I have not been chary in my tribute to those gentlemen for the anti-slavery work that they have done. For one, I must be beside myself if I can quarrel with them for being faithful to our cause. But, sir, when, in my judgment, they fail to carry out the principles, or stand in a pro-slavery relation, what shall I do as an honest man, as their friend, and as the advocate of the slave? Shall I be dumb? Shall I say, 'no matter, they mean well; they have said and done many very good things, let them run'? Why, nobody should let them run. I hold the slaveholder to the strictest account; shall I not hold every other man? To such an account God will hold us all . . .

"So in regard to our Free-soil friends. Have they not made good anti-slavery speeches?—what lack they yet? Have they not contributed to the funds of the anti-slavery cause? What lack they yet? Have they not assisted fugitive slaves to escape? What lack they yet? One thing; and that is, they are in a political union with bloody-minded oppressors, and they ought to come out and separate themselves forever from it."

On Thursday, January 27, 1853, Wendell Phillips delivered the annual address at the meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. He spoke in support of the following resolution:



"Resolved, That the object of this society now is, as it has always been, to convince our countrymen by arguments addressed to their hearts and consciences, that slave-holding is a heinous crime, and that the duty, safety and interest of all concerned demand its immediate abolishment without expatriation."

Mr. Phillips made this resolution the basis for a general review of the work of the Anti-Slavery Society of Massachusetts, and of the Anti-Slavery workers of the country. With winged words he swept the field, showing the attitude of the leading newspapers and of the public men. He paused in his circle to scourge Emerson, Lyman Beecher, Horace Mann, John P. Hale and others who had deemed it unwise to go to the same length as the members of the Anti-Slavery Society. Then followed a fiery defense of the course of Mr. Garrison, concluding with the original declaration of the *Liberator:*

"I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard."

It was out of the question that one of Mr. Mann's temperament should pass over in silence this public attack upon his position. He wrote to the 'Liberator,' protesting against the language which had been applied to him. Neither he nor Mr. Phillips were men of such mental type that they could easily discuss a question of this kind in those heated times without bringing in the personal element. A long controversy followed.



Mr. Mann begins one of his letters with the statement:

"I sit down to an unwelcome task. I deprecate a controversy with any man and never was engaged in one in my life until first assailed. I proposed to make our discussion as impersonal as geometry. He spurns the peaceful proposition and returns upon me with new accumulations of charges, longer and falser than before, the number of his columns increasing arithmetically—3, 5, 7—but the evil spirit of them geometrically—3, 9, 27."

Mr. Mann cannot waive these attacks upon his personal character and proceeds to take them up, item by item, and defends himself with greater or less success. On the whole he makes out a strong case, but the case which he does make out is rather a defense of himself than of the principles he advocates.

In another letter, Mr. Mann finds that Mr. Phillips has been guilty of seventy-five mis-statements. This turn of the discussion on both sides reminds one of the bitter days of the pamphleteers in England, but it is perfectly clear to any reader of the letters in the controversy that each man thought himself a model of courtesy and moderation! The whole purpose of the members of the Anti-Slavery Society in that day was to carry their friends, the Free-soilers, to the radical position which they themselves occupied. But to this position the Free-soilers were not yet ready to come.

Mr. Phillips severely criticised Mr. Mann for his want of frankness and concealment of facts while he was Secretary of the Board of Education. To this Mr. Mann replies:

"When the planning and execution of a great educational enterprise was confided to my hands; when I

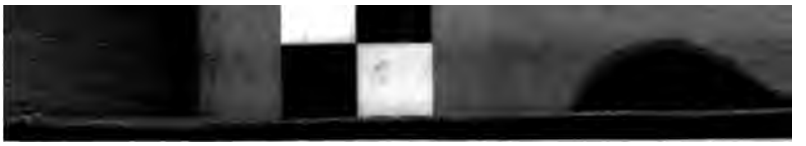


was encountering the opposition and hostilities of selfishness in a thousand forms and the hardly less formidable *inertia* of complacency; when the mental and manual labor of three or four men was daily thrown upon me, Mr. Phillips came stealthily up behind me and struck me with dastard blows. Two years ago, he uttered and printed the most palpable untruths respecting me, alienating friends, and diffusing ill-will towards me through a wide circle. Since that time he has revised the same untruth for republication, without suppression or modification. In the criminal courts, and in reference to those who are convicted over and over again, they speak of 'third' or 'fourth comers.' To me, Mr. Phillips is at least a 'fifth comer.' Yet in no instance did I ever before arraign him before the bar of the public. He has grown bold in proportion to his immunity. When he now assails me, and, to present injustice, revives that of a dozen years ago, am I bound any longer to maintain silence?"

That Mr. Mann's whole heart was in the cause of the slave at this time is strongly apparent from his answer to the charge that the Free-soilers have no wish to interfere with slavery in the states:

"Now I know of no Free-soiler who has not the strongest desire to arrest the wrongs of slavery by all the legitimate means within his power; or who 'consents to let slavery remain where it is,' in any other sense than as he consents to the subjugation of Hungary, or to the usurpation of Louis Napoleon—because he can't help it. I never intimated anything to the contrary of this; and, let me ask, does not Mr. Phillips 'consent' in the same way?"

"'But,' adds Mr. Phillips, 'if he means that he, Horace Mann, *as a politician and party man*, consents to that, but elsewhere and otherwise, will do his best to abolish this all-comprehending wickedness of slavery,—then he should have plainly said so.'



"Haven't I said so a thousand times? Nay, according to the best of my ability, and with all the strength God gave me, haven't I done so? What other overmastering motive had I to enter political life? Why have I devoted so large a portion of my time to the advocacy of human freedom? Why did I set myself across the path of that intellectual giant, Daniel Webster, and contest, hand to hand, every step of his pro-slavery course? Why did I refuse to follow the political party with which I had acted and take the sharpest edge of their weapons, instead of their rewards? Why did I do and suffer these things, if it was not because I was opposed to slavery, not only elsewhere and otherwise, but everywhere and in all ways—in every fibre and pulse of my being? And after all this, is there, I do not say any justice, but is there any decency in Mr. Phillips's saying, that if Mr. Mann had wished to oppose the all-comprehending wickedness of slavery, 'then he should have plainly said so'?—and then, assuming I did not say so, insinuate that I was guilty of an 'unworthy trick'?"

The real constitutional questions at issue between Mr. Phillips and Mr. Mann were these:

1. Whether a Christian man could vote, pay taxes, and hold office under a constitution permitting slavery and a government which provided for the return of fugitive slaves.

2. Whether such a course of action advanced or retarded the course of human freedom?

The arguments on both sides were bright and strong, but in the quieter judgment of a later time, one cannot help noticing the mental bias of each party to the controversy, and the effect on each of the inflamed state of public feeling. The controversy as a whole seems much more favorable to Mr. Mann than to



Mr. Phillips, but his friends will readily see that the statements and the arguments are not quite in harmony with Mr. Mann at his best.

Of a much higher character was the discussion on "The Constitution and the Ballot Box," which appeared in the "Liberator" in the spring of 1853. The two questions for discussion were:

1. Whether our governments, State and National, are so wicked (on account of slavery, war or for any other cause) that a moral and religious man cannot vote or hold office under them:

2. Whether such a man can vote and hold office under them, even though he acknowledges them (on the subject of slavery, for instance) to be wicked.

Mr. Mann's two letters on these questions constitute an admirable discussion of the whole matter. He seems to go back to his masterful method of treating the subject, as in his great discourses on education or as in his great speech on the slavery question in Congress. Now, we could well wish that Mr. Mann had been relieved of a certain amount of tension at that time, in order that his mind might have been free to work at its best, which it could never do in the heat of controversy or while he was smarting under a sense of injustice.

One of the most important and heroic services rendered by Mr. Mann in the period of his congressional life was his part as counsel for the defense in the celebrated trial of Drayton and Sayres.

Instigated by Northern Abolitionists and supplied with Northern money, Captain Daniel Drayton chartered a small coasting vessel owned by Captain Sayres, and went to Washington with the purpose of assisting



a number of slaves to escape to Philadelphia. Seventy-seven men, women and children were placed on board the little craft one Saturday night and in the early light of Sunday morning, the vessel slipped down the Potomac. When they reached the mouth of the river, the gale was so severe as to prevent their entering the bay, and they took refuge in Cornfield Harbor, 140 miles from Washington, where the vessel was overhauled by a small steamboat with a company of thirty-five armed men, and Drayton and Sayres were brought back to Washington and lodged in jail.

Joshua Giddings rushed to the jail and assured the prisoners that they should have counsel and support. D. A. Hall came forward and offered his services. There was imminent danger of outrages by a mob, but all was reduced to order, and the case against these men came up for trial. Mr. Key, the District Attorney, brought forward an old law of the State of Maryland, which it was declared the defendants had violated.*

*Unless otherwise provided, the laws of Maryland were to be in force in the District of Columbia. An act of Maryland of 1737 provides for "More effectual punishment of certain offenders and further taking from them the benefit of the clergy." The preamble recites the conditions which promote crime, and particularly the theft of goods, chattels, vessels and slaves. Section 2 makes it a felony for any person to break into any tobacco house or other outhouse and steal from thence goods, or chattels to the value of five shillings sterling, and imposes the penalty of death on the offender, without benefit of the clergy.

Act of 1751 provides that those who entice away or steal a slave must pay the master full value, or failing in that, suffer one year's imprisonment.

Act of 1796 provides that any person transporting any slave or depriving the owner of his service or person held for service, shall, upon conviction thereof, "be fined a sum not exceeding two hundred dollars, at the discretion of the court, one-half to the use of the master or owner of such slave, the other half to the county school, if there be any; if there be no such school, to the use of the county."



The feeling in the North was intense. A public meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, and a large committee appointed with power to employ counsel and raise money to secure a fair trial for Drayton and Sayres. Correspondence was opened with Horace Mann, W. H. Seward, S. P. Chase and General Fessenden, all of whom volunteered to help if they should be needed. With little previous notice, Drayton and Sayres were arraigned in the Criminal Court before Judge Crawford, on July 6, 1848. Sumner and Howe had persuaded Horace Mann to serve as counsel in the case. Telegrams were sent at once to Messrs. Seward, Chase and Fessenden, but they had legal engagements in Maryland, Ohio and Maine, respectively. Mr. Hall was not willing to take the responsibility of acting as counsel in the case, and J. M. Carlisle, of the Washington Bar, was at once retained to assist Mr. Mann. Eighteen days were allowed for preparation. The case was stubbornly contested from the beginning. First and last, the counsel on both sides had the assistance of some of the most eminent men of the country. Public feeling was at white heat. Slave-holders and sympathizers with the slavery cause appeared in the court room daily armed to the teeth. Mrs. Mann wrote to her husband, urging him not to expose his life needlessly to the fury of the slavery advocates, but he answered that there was no danger, for the South dared not give the North a martyr in the struggle for liberty. But he added that if there were danger that would be all the greater reason for his engaging in the case. Spoken like him, for in his veins tingled the blood of generations of men born to be martyrs.

For twenty-one days in the heat of a Washington



summer and surrounded by men of hostile spirit, he fought the great legal battle. Mr. Mann and his colleagues felt that Judge Crawford was manifestly unfair in his decisions and they contended vigorously against various points; but the case went against their clients. There is no better brief picture of the first encounter than that which appears in Horace Mann's letter to George Combe:

"You may have heard of an attempt to carry off seventy-seven slaves in one night, in a sloop, from the city of Washington, which occurred last spring. It caused the fiercest excitement; and the prisoners, who were taken, three in number, were doomed to destruction. I was importuned and over-persuaded to undertake their defense. Not a lawyer in the city of Washington would argue the question of the constitutionality of slavery in the District of Columbia. I longed to do it. The trial came in August; and for twelve successive days in a Tophet called a court-room, with the thermometer seldom lower than ninety, I fought against as abominable a spirit as ever disgraced a Jeffries or a Coke. The atmosphere was so impregnated by the excitement without, that it became, to a great extent, a non-conductor of humanity and reason to the jury within. One of the prisoners, however, escaped entirely; one was convicted of an offense punishable by fine only, with imprisonment until paid; and the third was convicted on two indictments, sentenced to three years' imprisonment on each, while thirty-nine indictments for a similar offense were continued. Exceptions were taken to numerous rulings of the Court, which were argued before the Appellate Court in November, and all the judgments were set aside. Now we begin, *de novo*, but under much better auspices; for many of the abominable legal doctrines of the court below have been annulled."



When Mr. Mann was arguing the cases before the Circuit Court, he declared that the colored population of the city, under the instructions given by Judge Crawford to the jury in the court below, had less protection for their natural right to liberty, than "beastly birds and fishes."

"If man," said he, "is charged with stealing an animal, free by nature, the prosecutor must prove that he has tamed the animal, or in some other way reduced it to possession. But under the ruling of Judge Crawford in the Court below, although the number of free colored people in the District who are as incapable of being reduced to slavery as the whites themselves, now preponderates over the number of slaves, probably in the proportion of three to one, yet Judge Crawford's law makes every colored person *prima facie* a slave."

Mr. Mann illustrated his argument by referring to foxes which the British noblemen caused to be hunted in the Pyrenees and shipped across the Channel to England. He said that while the noblemen confined these foxes in their parks, they were the subject of larceny, but should any one of them escape and thus recover his natural liberty, he would no longer be the subject of theft, for no one would have property in him. But Judge Crawford's law treated free colored people worse than the English common law treated foxes. A man might be convicted of stealing this class of our fellow-beings without proof that they could be stolen.*

* The District Attorney, Mr. Key, who had acquired an unenviable notoriety from having found more than three hundred and forty bills of indictment against the three persons engaged in abducting the slaves, on each of which bills he received a fee of ten dollars, perpetrated the following *jeu d'esprit* while Mr.



In the new trial, after a vigorous contest, the defendants were saved from the penitentiary, but a fine of $10,000 each was imposed and the men were committed to jail until the fine should be paid. Their imprisonment lasted nearly four years, but they were finally pardoned by President Fillmore.

In 1852 Mr. Mann was nominated by the Free-soil Party for Governor of Massachusetts. There was great interest in the Free-soil movement, but it was yet in the early stages and there was no hope of any immediate success. Men looked to the future for the achievement of great political triumphs, but there was no triumph for freedom in that hour. The slow drag of practical politics was wearing on Mr. Mann's spirit; the state was not ripe for the development of his work, and the hour of human liberty must still wait. Always devoted to those fields where philanthropy and benevolence could have full scope, and mightily biased toward the work of education by his efforts for twelve years as its advocate in Massachusetts, it was the most

Mann was speaking which was laid on his table as soon as he was done:

"To illustrate the point he's making,
In larceny there must be 'taking.'
A fox, he says, cannot be stolen,
Be he young, or be he an old 'un.
Pursuing hound, says he's mistaken,
At least so far as to th' 'Taking.'"

This was written on a small piece of paper, which Mr. Mann turned over and immediately made the following endorsement on it:

"Fox-hunting abroad, and slave-hunting indoors,
I beg leave to suggest, do not run on all fours.
Foxes do not catch foxes;—brute natures have bounds,—
But Mr. District Attorney, outhounding the hounds,
Hunts men, women and children—his pockets to fill,—
On Three hundred indictments, at Ten Dollars a Bill."



natural thing in the world for him to turn again in that direction.

When first approached with the proposition to go as President of Antioch College, he had given the matter little consideration. The call was new and strong, and it took growing hold upon him. If he had waited, he might have found in Massachusetts, or at least in New England, ample scope for all his ripe powers, and the historian could have recorded yet another field which he had sowed for the harvest of the centuries; but in his educational work for the Commonwealth, he had wrought out an ideal for college education, shaped after the plan of the public school, with public interests, large ideals, the non-sectarian spirit, and such devotion to human health and moral excellence as that time had scarcely dreamed of.

At last he said he would go to the New West, with its opportunities, its hopes and its aspirations. The son of New England, discouraged with Massachusetts, tired of politics, yet loving the land with all his heart, and bound to his friends by ties of which he did not know the strength until the strain came, Horace Mann chose Antioch College, Ohio, as the place to incorporate on a larger scale and higher plane the ideals which he had in Massachusetts wrought into the common schools.

On the 19th of September, 1853, Horace Mann left Boston for Yellow Springs, Ohio. In the early afternoon the train reached Fitchburg, where the State Free-soil Convention was in session. A large procession of delegates and citizens welcomed him at the station. At their request, he consented to take passage on a later train, was escorted to the Convention



Hall, and after the nomination of General Wilson for Governor, and his speech of acceptance, Mr. Mann was invited to address the Convention. The enthusiasm was unbounded; it was his farewell address to political associates in Massachusetts. His earnest manner, the profound attention with which he was heard, and the whole concurrence of circumstances, rendered the occasion peculiarly impressive.

On thanking the Convention heartily for the distinguished honor which had been conferred upon him, he indulged the pleasant hope of the future success of his party. It was a time to speak from the heart; for he was going out to a new field of labor, under new conditions, leaving the friends of his youth, manhood and middle life, going from scenes in which he had taken the most active part to fields all untried. Out of the depths of an earnest heart he spoke to his friends and fellow-citizens:

"Were I entitled to speak in the character of a patriot and of a statesman, I would say first and chiefest, maintain these three great measures, or I might call them great institutions, temperance, education and freedom. Were I entitled as a Christian or a man of piety, to utter my supplication before you on this occasion, as such a Christian and as such a man of piety, I should say, strive first of all for the three great blessings, the greatest blessings ever enjoyed on earth, temperance, education and freedom. It rejoices me to think, in giving you a sad, though kind farewell, that the three last words that I shall perhaps ever utter before a Massachusetts audience are the three words, temperance, education and freedom."

The whole effect was impressive in the extreme. The venerable worker in the cause which inspired the



deepest sentiments of enthusiasm, was taking his leave, and his words, pronounced with such earnestness in that hour, were long treasured in the hearts of men stirred to their very depths.

Hon. Edward Augustus Keyes, acting president of the convention, spoke of Mr. Mann's departure to Ohio and gave as a complimentary sentiment:

"HORACE MANN,—WHETHER STANDING BENEATH THE RISING OR THE SETTING SUN, THE RAYS OF THAT SPLENDID LUMINARY WILL SHINE UPON NOTHING THAT IS NOT AS BRILLIANT AND AS SPOTLESS AS THEMSELVES."

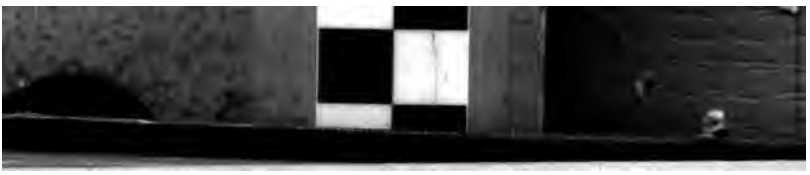


CHAPTER VIII

AT ANTIOCH COLLEGE

The determining reason which led Mr. Mann westward was the prospect this new location offered for the establishment of his ideals for higher education. He had achieved a great work in Massachusetts, and had won for the children such opportunities, and established such ideals for the common schools, as the people had not dreamed of. In this great new West, with its possibilities, with its unrestricted life, with its abundant resources, he would plant a form of higher education which should serve as a crowning feature of the great system of common schools established by himself in Massachusetts and which was already overflowing the borders of the State into many another commonwealth and far to the westward.

With the spirit of an idealist and the experience of a practical man of affairs, Horace Mann, prophet and opportunist, went to Ohio to establish a college, with the foundation principles of the co-education of the sexes and of non-sectarianism in religion. Around these great principles, he would gather yet others. Science, which before had small place in a liberal education, was now to come to its own. Art and music, with their refining influences, were to hold large place, and the instruction of teachers, which for twenty years had been a favorite child of his brain, was not to be forgotten. He would give in this college such atten-



tion to health as other institutions had not conceived of, not only teaching the physiological laws, but training the students in habits of obedience to these laws. There was also to be an appeal to new and higher motives. Antioch College was to have no system of honors, prizes or place-taking. No motives were to be appealed to where the triumph of one competitor involved the defeat of another. He held it to be unchristian to place children and youths so that for one to succeed was for another to fail. He appealed rather to the great motives of hunger for knowledge, of the disposition for one to measure himself by himself and be better in every department of life to-morrow than he had been to-day.

He urged such a wide conservation of energy and application of one's forces as would bring in a larger amount of knowledge. The greatest need of the age he conceived to be the preparation of large-minded men;

"Of men in whose capacious souls there is room enough for many sciences; who can see the relations between the sciences and weld them together for newer and greater achievements. We talk about one thousand horse power in mechanics and one thousand devil power in disposition; why should we not be able to speak with equal propriety of a thousand angel power in benevolence and in the founding of wise and beneficent institutions?"

His was a great sociological ideal; he wanted to train men and women in the same institution, that the reaction of one upon the other might develop those elements which should give them knowledge and power and grace and gentleness for large service in the home, in society and in the state. Horace Mann was always



a pioneer. He was a pioneer in common school education, and in the days when Massachusetts was in painful need of such pioneers; and he was a pioneer in college education and sought Ohio, a pioneer community, as a field for his great experiment.

Horace Mann was led to this new location for his work by the freedom and opportunities of the West. It was a land of promise. The climate was milder and the soil more fruitful and the conditions for the life and growth of the people more abundant than in New England.

"And a youthful community or state is like a child. Its bones are in the gristle, and can be shaped into symmetry of form and nobleness of stature. Its heart overflows with generosity and hope, and its habits of thought have not yet been hardened into insoluble dogmatism. This youthful western world is a gigantic youth, and therefore its education must be such as befits a giant. It is born to such power as no heir to an earthly throne ever inherited, and it must be trained to make that power a blessing and not a curse to mankind. With its mighty frame stretching from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, and with great rivers for arteries to circulate its blood, it must have a sensorium in which all the mighty interests of mankind can be mapped out; and, in its colossal and Briarean form, there must be a heart large enough for worlds to swim in. Wherever the capital of the United States may be, this valley will be the seat of empire. No other valley—the Danube, the Ganges, the Nile, or the Amazon—is ever to exert so formative an influence as this upon the destinies of men; and, therefore, in civil polity, in ethics, in studying and obeying the laws of God, it must ascend to the contemplation of a future and enduring reign of beneficence and peace."*

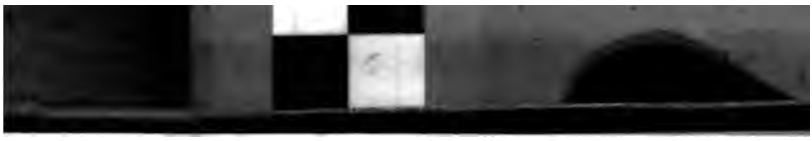
*Spoken at the dedication of Antioch College. Works, Volume V, page 314.



He looked not alone to material surroundings, but to the denomination among whom he was going. They were a noble people with noble ideals and a noble past.

In the closing years of the eighteenth century, as the last waves of the great revival swept over the country, there sprang up almost simultaneously in New Hampshire, North Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky, a people who had gained a new vision of the religion of Jesus, who believed in gentleness and simplicity and power, who, laying aside creeds, took the Bible as their only rule of faith and practice, and felt that they were preparing for the new kingdom of God upon earth. These people were bound together at first under various titles, but in time took to themselves only the name of Christians. They were designated among people in various parts of the country as "New Lights," and repeating the history of many religious movements, they did bring to the world a new message of the truth of God.

At first they stood strongly for the personal possession of the power of God by all the people and the special baptism of the Holy Ghost to prepare those who were called to the office of the ministry. These ministers were to rely upon the gift of the Spirit, and not upon the learning of men. But from 1847 to 1850 there was a distinct turn in the thought of the Connection, and they determined to establish a college for the training of their people, and for the special equipment of the ministry. The great religious freedom exercised in the denomination had given opportunity for thoughtful men to rise to a height beyond their fellows, and the principles of faith and conduct which they had wrought



out in their thinking and announced to the world were surpassingly beautiful and noble.

With a liberality far beyond the current thought of the time, they invited a man who was a layman and not of their denomination to act as President of their new college. Horace Mann felt that this was a call for him to do his great and final educational work in the world, and he came to it with a spirit like that of the ancient priests as they crowded to a religious festival. Not counting the cost, examining but slightly the conditions, he entered upon this work, a great, new high priest of higher education.

The college had been located at Yellow Springs chiefly through the remarkable zeal and indefatigable labors of Rev. John Phillips and Judge William Mills. Judge Mills was a leading citizen of the town and pledged twenty acres of land and several thousand dollars in money if the college should be located at that place. Rev. John Phillips, a godly man and a born promoter, traversed the surrounding country and aroused a very storm of enthusiasm for higher education and for the college of the Christians. This interest and these contributions turned the scale, and in a meeting of the sub-committee at Enon, Ohio, on the twenty-first of January, 1851, Yellow Springs, Greene County, Ohio, was settled upon as the place for the college. It was a beautiful location in a rural village, but the community was hardly one in which a non-sectarian college might be expected to flourish.

The people of that part of Ohio were ardent disciples of John Calvin. The Christians and Mr. Mann did not accept Calvinism, and for the most part were directly antagonistic to its doctrines. It must be remembered



that the decade from 1850 to 1860 was a time of great theological activity in the Ohio Valley. Discussion on religious topics literally raged there. It was no uncommon thing for several hundred or even a thousand people to come together at a convenient point to listen to a debate on some theological question. Wagons and camping outfits were brought into requisition and these people stayed for a period ranging from three to eight days, giving often as much as six hours a day to a religious discussion. With this state of the public mind, it is not to be wondered at that discussion waxed hot, and that ministers and laymen were more concerned about the ideas of the Trinity, the nature of sin, the location of heaven, the proper mode of baptism and the office of the Holy Spirit, than to do judgment, love mercy and walk humbly with their God.

In time, this religious bitterness might have been outgrown, but there was a fatal weakness, partly due to the condition of the times and partly to the character of the people who had founded the college. Impelled by the enthusiasm of a new enterprise and by the easy ways and inexact methods of a new country, they planned to build at a cost far in excess of the money in hand, and indeed at a price beyond any sum they could reasonably expect to collect. But their sublime faith carried them forward. As new needs developed money was raised by discounting notes. Private pledges were made here and there with the thought that all debts would be settled after the institution was under way. Added to this, from the beginning the plan was burdened with the provision that any person might, by paying one hundred dollars, own a perpetual scholarship which should cover the annual tuition of



one student forever. For this one hundred dollars, in many cases, notes were given, and it was understood that every need would be met if only the interest were paid. Such financial arrangements and such financial backing could bring only bankruptcy, and that was the painful condition when Mr. Mann came to begin his work, though the whole truth was not known by him until months afterwards. At first it was not intended that he should have any connection with the financial arrangements, but that he should be the public representative of the institution, and provide for the administration of its educational activities.

Now the fifth of October had arrived and more than three thousand people, comprising judges, lawyers, ministers of the Gospel, farm laborers, women with children in arms, and representatives of every type of that primitive society of the Middle West, had gathered on the campus for the dedication of Antioch College. At ten o'clock the Board of Trustees, with the college faculty and invited guests, assembled on a platform at the east front of Antioch Hall while the great concourse of spectators surged below. After music and prayer, Rev. John Phillips, the honored agent and mighty minister, presented to Mr. Mann for the college, three Bibles "in the name of the Great God, as the constitution of the world," with the prayer that "those under his care might be guided by their heavenly teachings and made better by their counsels." In thrilling words of eloquence, Mr. Mann responded, saying:

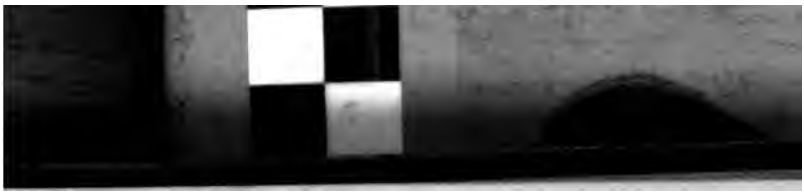
"I might give myself free scope to enumerate and enlarge upon the grand characteristics and prerogatives of this volume of Sacred Scriptures; I might



speak of the venerableness of its antiquity; of the sublimity of its eloquence; of the splendor of its poetry, whose words shine out as though precious stones had been scattered over the page; of its touching pathos; of its precepts and examples of wisdom and truth, and its inspirations of devotion and love; but in this pressure and urgency of the hour it seems more fitting that I should, so far as I am able, accumulate all its excellence into one phrase, concentrate all its eulogium into a single expression; aye, sweep the horizon of time, and of eternity, too, gathering their glories into one refulgent blaze, and say, that it is a book which contains the truths that are able to make men wise unto salvation."

At twelve o'clock a procession was formed which moved into the college chapel, a spacious room, seating one thousand five hundred people. Elder John Ross offered prayer and Rev. Isaac N. Walter delivered the charter and keys of the institution to Mr. Mann, the President-elect. The speaker was kindled to sublime enthusiasm and proved himself worthy of the great occasion which he conceived this to be.

"Mr. President: According to the arrangements of the constituted authorities of this institution and the duty assigned to me on this occasion, I am to present to you the insignia of your office. Rome, with her ivy-crested and cloud-climbing battlements, never presented such a spectacle as this. She had become renowned for her deeds of blood in the destruction of life and of the fairest prospects of man. She had statesmen, heroes, poets and orators, and men who occupied high position in her ranks, who had climbed to the pinnacle of fame and dyed their chaplets in the blood of millions. She had amphitheatres where gladiators fought to satisfy the morbid curiosity of her



citizens. But never did she call her people together to dedicate an institution of learning, to instruct her youth in the great importance of cultivating the human mind, to enable her sons and daughters to comprehend the heights of science and moral excellence, which guide men to goodness and to God, and thereby prepare them for their true destiny of greatness and usefulness.

"I now present to you the CHARTER, as the authority by which this college has been erected and its existence is to be forever perpetuated. I also deliver to you the KEYS of the Institution, which give you authority for full possession of all things pertaining thereto, and by which you are installed President of Antioch College, and I present you as such to this vast assembly and to the world.

"Under your administration, may this Institution flourish and grow as the cedars of Lebanon, and as the clouds send forth rain to fertilize the earth, may the streams of knowledge which go forth from this fountain, enrich the minds of the rising generations for ages to come!

"This college, sir, is built upon the highest point of land within the limits of our State; the air is salubrious, the water is pure, the scenery romantic, and everything conspires to make it one of the most desirable spots on earth. The place on which it stands, a few years ago was a howling wilderness, inhabited by the untutored savage, who offered up his sacrifice to the great spirit of storms and darkness. Now we have one of the most magnificent structures for the purposes of education in our Union.

"Under your administration, may the standards of literature and pure morals be raised higher, and shine more brightly here than can be found in any other institution in the world, so that science may go forth as a lamp that burneth! And may the blessings of Almighty God, who upholds the universe by his arm and feeds the vast family of man from his table, rest upon you in the performance of the duties of the high



and responsible station you fill as the presiding officer of this institution!

"Sir, no history tells us for how many years the cloud of mental darkness hung over the aborigines of this country. May this college be as a rainbow over that cloud; and may its light continue to attract and cheer seekers after truth and the lovers of duty, until it shall shed its radiance on the evening of the world!"

Horace Mann made answer in words worthy of those by which he had been inducted into his high office, but the great event of the day was his inaugural address. Of this, Thomas Starr King wrote:

"There is vitality enough in it to make the college thrive in Sahara. One would like to know the details of that diet which floods the brain with such impetuous electricity for the service of truth, making the sentences tingle the eye when they are read."

Said Horace Mann:

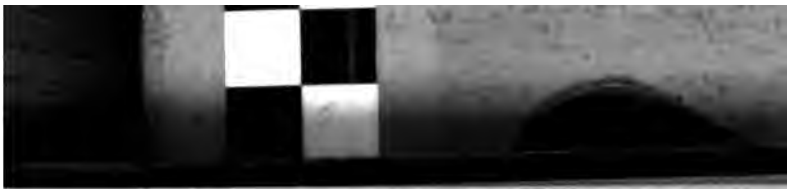
"Let us dedicate this college to the two great objects, —which can never be rightfully separated from each other—the honor of God and the service of man: let us renewedly consecrate our own hearts to the worship of our Father in Heaven and to the welfare of our brethren upon earth."

He ranged the whole universe for topics of teaching and illustration, bringing to the people through art, literature and science,—in words how eloquent!—instruction, inspiration, and the purposeful revelation of a life strong, tender and true. The boundless possibilities of human nature, the glories of literature, the achievements of science and art, the grace of religion, the mighty examples of that faith which carries its riches beyond the grave—all found place



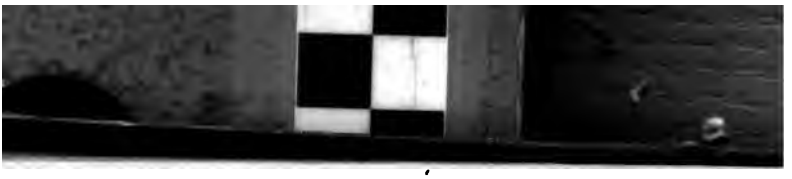
ANTIOCH COLLEGE





in his great ideals. His clarion voice rang out in words of warning against the dangers of ignorance, duplicity and sin, and emphasized the overpowering responsibilities attendant upon such a privilege as theirs, and the great need of preparation which at the same time should make men worthy of their endowment, recognizing divine law, tender, unfailing, and overarching. He looked forward to redeeming men, not in another world, but here and now through the sacred and blessed voice of education, and this was to be wrought out by a life of faith in all who taught, by unfailing effort in all who studied, and by unfailing love of God and man.

No words can paint the tension, sacredness and the thrilling influence of that scene, with its company of men and women, swept by alternating storms of tears and aspirations under the voice of the master. It was much more a religious than an educational occasion. Here were men and women who had prayed for years for the founding of a college and had toiled early and late, saving out of their poverty little sums, from twenty-five cents to ten dollars, that they might give something toward the building of the college. It was the time of great fruition. Was not the college theirs? And did not they hear the voice of this master of men calling them to higher things than they had ever hoped, and promising them to train their children to be sons and daughters of the living God? Ah! how he moved them! At times Horace Mann's voice was like the music of the harp and at others it swept down upon the people like that of Elijah calling to the sin-tossed hosts of Mt. Carmel. People swayed before the great orator as a forest yields to a mighty storm. These



were great hours, and in them were born ambitions and ideals which it would require many a year of privation, effort and patience to accomplish.

But no man nor company of men can live forever on the mountain top. The dedication of Antioch College passed. The visitors betook themselves to their homes, and those who had come to offer themselves as students were now accommodated as well as possible in the college halls.

Early next morning breakfast was served and immediately afterwards the tables were cleared and written examinations given to one hundred and fifty candidates, of whom but eight were ready to be entered in the freshman class. It was a motley group. Ministers had given up their parishes; husbands and wives were there to enter side by side that they might be fitted to rear and teach their children. Sons and daughters of eminent men, east and west, gathered there for the teaching of this man of renown in education. Amid it all stood Horace Mann, and through it all he heard the echoes of those sounds which Dr. Emmons and his people had heard upon the plains of Franklin, "the voices of angels, calling to their God."

Mr. Mann had made it a condition of his acceptance that a few choice teachers whom he knew should be brought from Massachusetts. His nephew, Calvin Pennell, was to have charge of the department of Latin, and his niece, Rebecca Pennell, of the mathematics. These teachers were masters in their calling. Other departments were to be provided for, but in many cases with very inadequate ideas of the needs which the new institution would impose. The standards at Antioch from the beginning were high—high standards



of scholarship, high standards of teaching, and high standards of morals. The lower classes must be instructed, and several of the young people who had come from different schools in the East to carry on a college course under the direction of Horace Mann found themselves installed in the schoolrooms, not as students but as teachers. The work went forward, and Horace Mann was everywhere, guiding, inspiring and managing.

The buildings were but partly finished and no provision had been made for heating. In some of the rooms the plaster was hardly dry, and in the first days, teachers and students suffered severely from colds, but nothing could daunt the enthusiasm of this company which had gathered for this sacred ministry of education.

There was yet no house for the President, so he installed his family in the boarding hall and took his meals with the students. Petty annoyances sprang up; the whole Middle West was marked by a kind of raw democracy which resented many of the commoner conveniences and refinements of an older civilization. The tables were furnished, not with chairs, but with stools, and when some of the lady teachers provided chairs at their own expense, a few of the critics made unfavorable comments. Napkins could be had only by special arrangement, and it was by the greatest diplomacy that a change of plates could be secured from the management of the boarding hall when dessert was to be served. All these points, minor in themselves, were matters which, with Mr. Mann's enthusiasm and largeness of view, gave him no serious concern, but were adjusted by tact and patience.



But soon two direful weaknesses appeared: a bankrupt college and a divided authority. The superintendent of the institution was charged with a great number of duties and privileges which should have belonged strictly to the President and his immediate advisers. Even many of the teachers were chosen without consultation with Mr. Mann or his faculty. From time to time there was need of all the gentleness and experience in dealing with complicated conditions which Mr. Mann had learned in his public life in Massachusetts.

Unexpectedly to him, he found again at Antioch the old bugbear of sectarianism among the very people who had asked him to conduct for them a non-sectarian college. It was a narrowness and pettiness beyond anything he had dreamed of. They were thoroughly honest and meant to be non-sectarian, but their interpretation of that word was very narrow. They held to settled beliefs, and to tolerate any radical departure from these, they felt to be treason to the denomination which had founded the college and invited Mr. Mann to preside over it. Mr. Mann found in their interpretation of non-sectarianism, with its attendant results, a condition which burdened his heart and wore out his life. Still the narrow-minded but honest people, who stung him like a thousand hornets, and who hindered his work, were no greater trial to him than he was to them. They felt that their great enterprise was now to be taken out of their hands, and that the cherished ambitions of the whole denomination for a great college of the Christians were to be brought to naught. Who can wonder that, with the radical differences in surroundings



PRESIDENT'S HOUSE, ANTIOCH COLLEGE





and experiences and points of view, Mr. Mann and his co-laborers, on the one hand, and the larger share of the Christians, on the other, should have had misunderstandings from the first?

Very early in the history of the college, difficulties arose between some of the members of the faculty and Mr. Mann because of the broad spirit in which he interpreted the non-sectarian idea. At first all was quiet. His was a great name, and for months those who distrusted him smothered their dissatisfaction, or muttered it under their breath only to their particular friends. But the poison was working throughout the denomination, and with it grew a distrust of opinions called "Unitarian" and ideas supposed to be "Eastern." The feeling grew in strength until the echoes of the storm were heard from point to point. Some of the professors, antagonistic to Mr. Mann, were removed from the college, and one of them issued a pamphlet denouncing the institution, the faculty and Mr. Mann in particular. He was accused of being untrue to the Christian denomination, of being untrue to every standard of honesty, truthfulness and nobility. But loyal members of the faculty rallied about him and a strong rejoinder was issued, reminding one of the dark days of his contest with the Boston Masters.

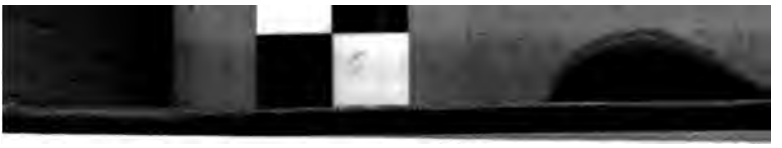
Amid this storm of doubt and discouragement, with an institution that was bankrupt and a people who had only the narrowest interpretation of the great principles of religious freedom and human effort, the reader will wonder how the college could continue with its mission. But Horace Mann had strong and noble friends. These, from time to time, furnished him money to carry forward his great enterprise. Not a



few loyal men of the community contributed practically their all that the college might continue its work. Many of the men who had been attracted to the college by the fame of its great president gave largely to continue the education of their sons and daughters.

Rebecca Pennell (Mrs. Dean), while collecting money in the East to save the college, wrote: "If the young people only realized what Antioch costs and what is expected of them, they would make Antioch, by their fidelity, a pattern to the world." Rufus P. Stebbins wrote: "The desperate fight at Thermopylæ was nothing compared with your struggle to save Antioch from its debts; Heaven grant that you may not be killed in it!" In a word, the college went on because Horace Mann believed in it and labored for it.

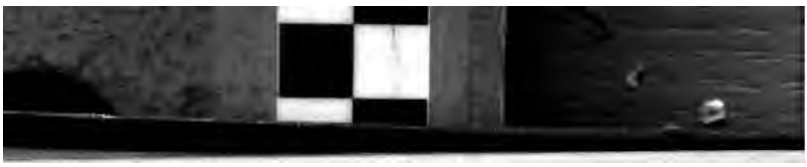
But Horace Mann had a work *in* the college, and in this work of education he was successful for two reasons. His habit of careful and thorough investigation gave him command of the whole field, and he was so surcharged with spiritual vitality that he thrilled through and through every person who would respond to his influence, and lifted him by a heave of the will and sweep of the intellect to a place beside himself. Other men, not a few of national reputation, came to Antioch in Horace Mann's best days, but none of them was so able to thrill the students and none of them was so gifted in character-making power as the honored President who went in and out before them. The intellectual and moral magnetism of the man was marvelous. In this current, the student was swept rapidly toward the open sea of personal power. He found in himself new qualities and characteristics, before dormant, which were now stirred to life.



Within his soul stirred ambitions that he had never dreamed were there, and the student, kindled by the torch passed to him by Horace Mann, went out to kindle other lives and spread abroad the sacred light through all that Ohio Valley from hilltop to hilltop and far to the Western sea.

"His mode of teaching was suggestive and stimulating; not so holding his flock to the dusty, travel-worn path as to forbid their free access to every inviting meadow or spring by the way. It was his wont to hear us recite a few hours each week, assigning special lessons to special pupils, giving each some question, some theory, some matter-of-fact inquiry, on which each should pursue investigation at leisure, and prepare a paper to be read before the whole class, and be commented upon by himself. The range of these topics (when political economy was the subject)—taking in questions of agriculture and soil-fertilization, of canals and railroads, of commerce, of cotton gins, of steam plows, of population, of schools, of churches and of public charities in their economic relations, and of those rising civilizations which bear on art and foster science, both necessitating and making greater civil and spiritual freedom, yet having their root among those lower material conditions—illustrates the comprehensiveness of Mr. Mann's favorite methods of educating and instructing our minds.

"But even this was not so peculiar to him as a certain personal impulse he imparted to all who came in contact with him, the impetus with which his mind smote our minds, rousing us, and kindling a heat of enthusiasm, as it were, by the very power of that spiritual percussion. It was in this that he was so incomparable. A man might as well hope to dwell under the sun unmoved, as not to glow when brought to feel his fervid love of truth and heart-felt zeal in its quest. The fresh delight of childhood seemed miracu-



lously prolonged through his life; truth never palled upon his mind; the world of thought never wore a sickly light; and this cheerful spirit, which had at the bottom, nothing but the most living faith in God and man, was so contagious, that indifference, misanthropy, despair of attaining truth, gave way before it, or were transformed into a like hearty enthusiasm.

"Then in guiding the new-roused impulse, he was so conscientious and candid, so careful not to trench on the borders of individuality, nor to let our loving respect for him so fix our eyes on his opinion that we should lose the beckon of some proximate truth, that we felt him as gentle to guide as he was powerful to inspire."*

Never martyr or reformer went to his work with higher hopes or more undying purpose than Horace Mann entered upon his work at Antioch. His master spirit kindled the company of young men and young women who thronged the college halls, and his presence was to them the very breath of life. Antioch could not fail with such a president, such a faculty, and such students, all of whom were living every day above themselves. There was such enthusiasm as to sweep away old customs and establish new ideals. The use of tobacco was a general habit in that region, and Mr. Mann set his face strongly against it. The use of liquor came in for a like, but more strenuous, condemnation. Day by day those who were making a fight for a clean, strong manhood came to report to him their successes and to pledge themselves to new efforts. The radical change in habits which many of the students were forced to make to conform to the new conditions had a great effect on them: it was like a con-

*C. W. Christy in Life, p. 453.



version, and they found themselves apprentices in the supreme art of life with Horace Mann, their guide and teacher, as master and inspirer. His office door was open to every student, and they came to talk with him of the great questions of life, telling him of their efforts to overcome habits and practices which had held them in an iron grasp for years. He talked with them as a friend, wept with them as a father weeps over his erring child, and pointed them steadily to the higher way. Against temptations of appetite and passion, he counseled and strove and pleaded with a hope and purpose like Paul when he fought with the beasts at Ephesus, and there were wrought out such conditions in human life and effort as in many of the colleges were at that time practically unknown.

He was often counted needlessly severe in dealing with the students, but his vision of sin was so sharp and definite, and his experience as a lawyer and a humanitarian had led him to see what a wreck it made of human hopes and human possibilities, that he could not tolerate even the semblance of that which was low and base.

The usual stupid and petty college tricks, which have gone down through the ages in an ever-increasing current of pitiable mediocrity, found but little repetition at Antioch, and those students who had been in college long enough to see the seriousness of life, and to live from the center of their own beings for the highest and best, felt that they had no time to be petty and trifling, and, above all, they felt that they could not live on a plane below their best, lest the penalty should be written in their very beings. Antioch had established in their minds a true conception of the



great and beneficent reign of law. The citizens of the village and the people of the surrounding country, with the visitors from far and near, gloried in this condition of affairs. The picture is portrayed in a letter written by President Mann to Rev. S. J. May:

"ANTIOCH COLLEGE,
"YELLOW SPRINGS, O., Feb. 27, 1858.

"My dear Mr. May,

". More than a thousand students, either from the collegiate or the preparatory department, have left us; and among them all, scarcely one who had been with us long enough to imbibe the spirit of the place has left us a dogmatizer or a bigot. Many have left for the ministry; but it is the ministry of truth, not of sect. There is a strong but sober spirit of attention to religious interests among our students. The moral character and conduct corresponds.

"On the east side of our grounds and immediately adjoining them, is a farm of four hundred acres, with garden, vineyard and orchard of twenty or thirty in addition. On the northwest, Judge Mills has a large flower and fruit garden. On the southwest, a hundred and fifty rods from our doors, a Frenchman raises choice fruits for the market. Not one of these for two years has lost an apple, peach or grapes. . . . Our dormitory, nearly filled with male students, has no tutor or proctor or overseer. In study hour it is as quiet as your house. We have no rowdyism, no drinking of intoxicating liquors, no gambling or card playing; and we have nearly succeeded, notwithstanding the inveteracy of these habits at the West, in exorcising profanity and tobacco.

"You know my views of emulation. It may make bright scholars; but it makes rascally politicians and knavish merchants.

"All of our faculty now, except myself, are young



(and I feel so) and are all well qualified for their places, and filled with a generous enthusiasm. Five of them are members of the Christian church, two of the Unitarian church. Two of our professors are ladies."

At another time he wrote:

"YELLOW SPRINGS, O., May 18, 1858.

"My dear Mr. Combe:

". . . . The entire discipline of the institution devolves upon me. With such of our young people as need the curbing of propensities, and to have their energies withdrawn from their present channels and directed into new ones, I spend a great deal of time privately. I cannot get at the heart in social addresses as I can in private appeals. When I have an interview with a reckless or perverse student, and pass into his consciousness, and try to make him see mine, I always shed tears; I cannot help it; and there is a force in honest tears not to be found in logic. This labor is diminishing as the spirit of the school, its *animus*, improves. And we really have the most orderly, sober, diligent, and exemplary institution in the country. We passed through the last term, and more than half through the present, and I have not had occasion to make a single entry of any misdemeanor in our record book,—not a case for any serious discipline.

"There is no rowdyism in the village, no nocturnal rambles making night hideous. All is quiet, peaceful; and the women of the village feel the presence of our students, when met in the streets in the evening, to be a protection rather than an exposure. It is now almost five years since I came here, and as yet I have had no 'practical joke' or 'college prank,' as they are called, played upon me,—not in a single instance. Think you, it has not required some labor to superinduce this state of things on the free and easy manners of the West?"



The unready condition of the grounds and the free and untrained democracy of Western life, hindered but could not overcome the tendency toward refined habits of thought and action which Mr. Mann desired to establish. The students were continually taught by the teachers the graces of behavior. Frequent receptions were given, where students and faculty met on a common plane. The young people were tender-hearted and responsive, and soon they learned those beauties of deportment which the world has agreed to pronounce characteristic of gentlemen and ladies. But more than externals, from their life at Antioch they learned to know themselves and to recognize the responsibility resting upon every man to do his part in spreading the teachings of Jesus.

With this spirit and with this effort, there is little wonder that Horace Mann's great experiment at Antioch was a striking success. Like all new enterprises, it underwent a number of peculiar experiences. Men with queer notions of all sorts and varieties were there, and it required all Mr. Mann's tact and ingenuity to preserve liberty of thought and action and at the same time to dispose of these hindering characters without injuring the institution and offending those who meant well but did not act well.

Woman's rights was a live issue in this place where woman was to be treated as an equal of man. The young men and maidens recited in the same classes and had the same course of study, the same teachers and the same privileges of instruction. But whenever an extremist came to Antioch for the purpose of showing that she could act in all respects like a man, she was made to feel that her views were not in harmony



with the spirit of the institution, and Horace Mann looked on with real pleasure when she finally came to the conclusion that Antioch was not really in favor of her sort of reform and betook herself to some more radical field of activity.

In all his earlier life, Horace Mann had never united with the church, though he was regarded as a Christian, and his influence was steadily on the side of good government, good citizenship and the strong moral life; but in the early days at Antioch he united on declaration of his faith with the Christian Church, and with him, Mrs. Mann and his niece, Miss Pennell. He took an active part in the administration of church affairs. The growing dissatisfaction in the Christian denomination had its effect in the local church, and there grew to be a radical difference between Horace Mann and some of the other members. At last there was a great church quarrel, which caused him infinite pain and bade fair, for a time, to wreck the organization and seriously to affect the college. By good generalship for his party, rather than in any other way, the impending danger was at last averted, but the bitterness lingered long in the town.

The ever-present financial situation pressed upon the college management. The Trustees saw no way to meet the growing debts. Agents were sent east and west to collect funds. It was all in vain. The institution was on a basis where it could not go forward, and even its best friends felt that the time had come for it to be sold at sheriff's sale and in that manner freed from its burden of bad debts and bad scholarships. Accordingly, on the twentieth day of April, 1859, the college was sold at Cincinnati, Ohio, by Hon.



John Kebler, Master Commissioner, for the sum of $40,200. The only bidder was Moses Cummings, who bought the school for Frank A. Palmer, of the Broadway Bank, New York City, a member of the Christian denomination. After a time, he agreed to turn it over to a close board consisting of Josiah Quincy, Charles E. Bidler, Eli Fay, Artemus Carter, and Thomas McWhinney. They prepared articles of incorporation and in that form carried on the institution until the next June, when a full board of trustees was appointed under a new charter. This legal step freed the college from debts which were hopeless, and provided for unity of administration by giving Mr. Mann and his co-laborers a controlling interest in the administration of the college. They were filled with new hope, and those who feared that Antioch had reached the limit of its usefulness looked forward to many victories for the cause which it represented.

Horace Mann, who was now past sixty, had been engaged for months in a strenuous effort to save the college. Many times he was occupied until past midnight in answering letters, working out plans and holding converse with those who hoped to better the condition of the college. His address to the seniors was not finished until the very day of its delivery. He was the central figure of that last busy commencement, and at night carried the burden of the great reception at the President's house, rejoicing that the college was saved, though it had gone down through the valley of the shadow of debt and defeat and assignment.

In the parched days which followed, the strain was gone, but Horace Mann found himself too tired to rest. There was a repetition of the days of the contest in



the Massachusetts Board of Education, when his brain "flamed like a brush pile on a distant heath in the wind." His whole system was overworn. He was tired, but no one thought of death. Presently he was scarcely able to eat or drink, and only refreshed himself by touching to his lips water brought from a nearby spring.

Counsel was then called, and when the physician from Cincinnati came, Mr. Mann looked at him, took his strong hand and playfully ran his own fingers over the massive head, saying, "You are a good man with a good head, you will do." But already the stamp of death was upon the noble face. The physician told Mrs. Mann that her husband had scarcely twelve hours to live. "Never mind," she said, "we will tell him in the morning."

In the morning he was told that his hour had come. He was surprised, but at once the great brain rallied, and he said, "I have a work to do." First, there was an interview with Mrs. Mann and the children, except Horace, the eldest son, who was in the East. In gentle and tender converse they reviewed their life together, their struggles and conflicts and high hopes and the great joy which the union had brought to them.

To his children he said, "When you wish to know what to do, ask yourselves what Christ would have done in the same circumstances." With rare sweetness and faith, Mrs. Mann sustained him in this trying hour.

Then the door was opened and one after another of his students and friends was admitted. He spoke with each of them from three to six minutes. With a few, his interviews were private, but with most of them he spoke so as to be heard by several. One



pale, slender student was advised to be more careful of his health, to bathe, to exercise and spend more time in lively company. Another, who was wearing himself away by too close application, was advised to study with less intensity and take more recreation. A loiterer was admonished that time was one of the most precious gifts bestowed on mankind, and must never be wasted. To one he said:

"Hold your head closer. Let me see once more before I die, that mammoth brain full of electricity and fire. Oh! if I had possessed a brain like that, I could have accomplished far greater good for the human race. That brain is capable of doing immense good or immense evil. Consecrate it! Consecrate it!!"

To a poor student who had been working his way through college and had borrowed money from him, he said: "Mrs. Mann will return your note. You need never pay it." To another, "I have no special advice to give you. You know what is right and have determined to do it. You have made a glorious beginning. A good, solid, industrious young man. Go on as you have begun. Go on as you have begun. Now give me a good, steady shake of the hand, your *strong* hand. Goodbye, goodbye."

And so he spoke with thirty-five or forty persons, pointing out the desired line of conduct, praising and warning, saying to them,

"Our object should always be truth, duty, God, man. Great talents without moral worth are sometimes a scourge, a pestilence, a plague to the race. Honesty is cheaper than dishonesty, even if we view it only as a matter of economy. Follow Christ—he is a shining example."



He closed his remarks to each one with a mild and tender but vigorous grasp of the hand. The hand was cold and the nerves unsteady, but the clasp was firm to the very last.

A hymn was sung by Mrs. Mann. In this hour she was strong for every need. Then Mr. Mann said, "I should like to have Mr. Fay make a short prayer—a cheerful, grateful prayer." It was done. This seemed to cheer and comfort him. Then he sent messages of affection to his absent son, to his sister, to Mr. Craig and to other friends, particularly to Professor Cary.

"Dear Cary!—solid, steadfast, well-balanced, always wise, always right, always firm,—tell him how much I loved him!" And again he murmured, "Good, reliable, judicious, firm, gentle, beautiful Mr. Cary!" his voice gaining energy again as he went on. "And these good young men, Mr. Fay, who have always done their duty,—how I love them! Tell them how I love them. No words can express how I love them!"

More than once he exclaimed, "Oh, my beautiful plans for the college! I meant that Mr. Fay should prepare himself to be the president of this college; for I know no man living, who will take it, who will carry it on as well as he." To Mr. Fay, who did not hear this, he said "Preach God's laws, Mr. Fay; preach them, preach them!"—his voice rising each time he repeated the words, his trembling arm raised aloft as if to invoke heaven's blessing upon him, his whole frame quivering with emotion. "You have more power over the public mind of the West than any man I know," he added after a pause. Then most energetically he repeated his entreaty that he should use it, for the world needed it. "Oh, God! may he

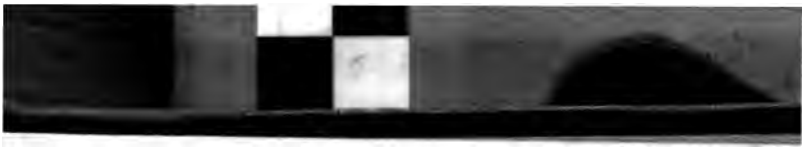


preach thy laws, till the light drives out the darkness!"

It was nearly twelve o'clock. He was exhausted, but expecting other friends later, he asked to rest a little with the hope of gathering strength to bid all goodbye. For nearly five hours he uttered no word. His countenance was tranquil but pale. Now and then his mind seemed gathering choice flowers from the garden of memory, and his face lighted with joy. About his lips a smile played, and his eyes would open with a "mild, angelic glow of conscious innocence." For him the last sun was sinking to the west; the last sands were dropping through the hour glass. He now seemed asleep. It was half-past four. The sweet voice, which before seemed strong, was now heard faintly for the last time in these words, "Now I will bid you all goodnight." The breath grew fainter—the heart stood still—Horace Mann was gone.

The news of his death sped on the wires over the continent and was carried by messengers over all southwestern Ohio. More than one hundred students gathered from the vicinity to attend the funeral. On the day of the funeral students and friends bore him in the rain to a grave upon the campus. They could not let him go. A year later the remains were taken to Providence, Rhode Island, and interred with those of his first wife in the old North Burying-ground.

On Antioch campus his grave is now marked by a monument inscribed with this sentiment: "I BESEECH YOU TO TREASURE UP IN YOUR HEARTS THESE MY PARTING WORDS: BE ASHAMED TO DIE UNTIL YOU HAVE WON SOME VICTORY FOR HUMANITY." The above was taken from his writings by Dr. Daniel



Albright Long, who at a later time followed Mr. Mann as president at Antioch.

The poor stricken wife at first knew not what to do. All through these trying years she had been brave and true. In the hour of death her courage never failed, and as she looked to the years beyond, she lifted her heart in gratitude that there were left to her three sons. In their veins flowed his blood and they had caught something of his spirit and remained to her as a glorious memory of years full of rich, beautiful and holy experiences. Her heart turned to the old home State of Massachusetts, and she went to make her dwelling place in Concord, there to give her boys the training which she felt he would have wished for them.

It was hard to realize that Horace Mann was gone. The stamp of his personality rested upon every work with which he had been connected. Antioch was in a very true sense Horace Mann incorporated. His ideals, in these new surroundings, found a new home and a new development. The college authorities were slow to find a successor, but the students were loyal to the memory of Horace Mann, and when Dr. Hill was chosen and came to Antioch, it seemed that Mr. Mann's work would go on. Through the long years his influence and his spirit have in one way or another pervaded this institution, great in its ideals and great in its beginnings, but there have been many times of disappointment and hours when its energies have flagged and when those intrusted with the work were all too feeble-handed.

Soon after his death, his bosom friend, Austin Craig, of Blooming Grove, N. Y., sent the letter which



follows to the Christian Herald and Messenger. The letter is long, but the picture is so vivid, and the appreciation so sincere and true-hearted, that I quote the article, with but slight modifications to adapt it to this place:

"What a shock this sad news gives us! What a loss we have met! Heavier—much heavier than we can now realize!

"Just recall to mind the delighted surprise with which, six years ago, we heard that the foremost educator in America had come to cast in his lot with us, and to mould and guide our infant college. We had no attractions to offer to the personal interests and ambitions which a man of his eminence might be supposed to entertain; yet he gave himself freely to our fellowship and service, attracted by the noble field of usefulness which he saw opening for Antioch College. As Horace Mann foresaw its future, with its unsectarian yet Christian characteristics in religion, and its equal opportunities of education to woman and man, it supplied all that was lacking for the organized completeness of that noble plan of education to which he had consecrated himself with a fervor, and (under God's blessing) a success almost apostolic.

"When Mr. Mann came to us, he came to great labors and great sacrifices. His reputation as a lawyer and his popularity as a lecturer would have procured for him an ampler revenue than we were able to offer him. When, however, the sum named at first was diminished a thousand dollars per annum, he did not hesitate; for he saw before him a great and a good work. Still later, and when the financial straits of the college were bringing his salary into large and hopeless arrears, Mr. Mann made no complaint; but often from his own purse supplied considerable sums for college service. We all remember how one year ago, in the dark hour when the redemption of the college seemed hopeless, Mr. Mann gave in aid of the



institution five thousand dollars. And I believe his words, when, at my departure from Yellow Springs the following morning, he told me that up to that time, Antioch College had cost him every penny that had been paid to him out of the college treasury. And this he said—not as a man boasts his praiseworthy acts to his friends—but in the confidence of a private interview, when all his past sacrifices and all his trembling future hopes in behalf of a dearly loved cause were choking his voice with emotion, and trickling his cheeks with tears.

"But his money was the smallest part of what he gave to Antioch College. He had, from the very first, given his great earnest heart wholly to the cause. And there will be a bitter grief to some among us, when, by and by, the noble endeavors and sacrifices of Mr. Mann for Antioch College shall become clear before all. There will be bitter grief over the blindness which failed to appreciate his faithful labors, and even suspected the aims of his noble heart. Few persons among us can realize the greatness of the sacrifices made by Horace Mann for the sake of Antioch College. To a man past sixty, regular rest and sleep are not only grateful, but indispensable. But how often has that slender man bent his head over his desk until midnight if exhaustion did not come sooner! You know that I lived in his family one college year, and a considerable portion of another. His correspondence respecting college matters was a very great tax upon his time and strength. Often have I brought him from the post office his daily handful of letters, sometimes ten or a dozen, and they were all answered before he slept. The involved condition of the college finances, though it was no responsibility of his, brought a great many cares and duties to him. Think of two or three hundred students bringing all their cares, wishes and grievances to him. A student wishing to change his room, or to go into the country for a day's visit to his friends, or to go into the village during



study hours, or to excuse an absence from chapel services, or to report a grievance, or to ask advice, would come to the President. Hundreds of applications were thus occurring every week.

"He watched with great solicitude the movements of those entrusted to his charge. Day after day I have known him to consume hours, reasoning, remonstrating, expostulating with students in whom he saw some unfaithfulness of spirit, or some pernicious habit developing itself. He did feel responsible for the health, the purity, the improvement of the young men and ladies under his charge. How often he has labored in private with students whom he suspected of profanity, or of tobacco-using or of any unseemliness of behavior! Mr. Mann made heart-work of his discipline. He sought the welfare of the students. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to mark improvement in their character. He bore the students upon his heart and he was keenly alive to all that concerned their moral welfare.

"Then, again, everybody came to him—for counsel, if not for active help. If a professor wanted direction as to his classes, if the treasurer were in a strait, if the boarding house keeper had trouble at the refectory tables, if the music department lost its harmony—in short, if *anything* happened, Mr. Mann was the resource. Mr. Mann's time and Mr. Mann's purse were drawn upon for all conceivable objects. If the college lyceum lacked funds, Mr. Mann would of course give the proceeds of a lecture. If a villager sold wood to a company of students, and deemed himself wronged in the transaction, he called upon Mr. Mann who healed the misunderstanding by paying the difference out of his own pocket. If diplomas were needed for the graduates, Mr. Mann must be called upon to get them and wait years for his pay until they could be sold. If a convention was to be held to devise relief for the college, Mr. Mann must be appointed on a committee to draw up a 'plan' and would be permitted to pay



for the printing out of his own pocket. If a long journey was to be undertaken, winter or summer, in an exigency of college affairs, Mr. Mann, of course, could go, and go at his own charges. All this and much more than I can now recall, Mr. Mann did, and did without murmuring; for he greatly loved the cause to which he gave so much. Then he had, too, his own daily work as a teacher; his regular share of the morning chapel services, his Sabbath discourses, his Bible class teachings continued for four years. His lectures before educational conventions, his addresses at public meetings, his Baccalaureates, his carefully prepared discourses in the chapel on Sundays: when did he find time to prepare these? Why, when others, at the close of a weary year of college toil, went to spend the vacation months in recreation, Mr. Mann, unable to find time for rest, went to the Lake Superior region, that in its autumn-like coolness he might be able to spend the months of July and August in the toils of preparing lectures and addresses for next college year, and for other claims to be made upon him during its course. And, with all his duties, ordinary and extraordinary, who ever knew him to be unprepared? Who ever, in classroom or chapel, knew him to be late? Who ever heard an unmanly complaint or a weak murmur from his lips? One treadmill round of uncomplaining work through all the weary year! With a human heart in his bosom—a heart keenly alive to human sympathies; and yet with sympathy or without, with appreciation or with reproach, he kept at his work, his lofty aim all the time nerving him and sustaining him; he, willing all the while to work and suffer, if only his beloved Antioch might prosper. It was two years ago he wrote me that, could he see certain dearly cherished desires for Antioch accomplished, he would say, as old Simeon said, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.' He had furrowed his face with lines of care; he had bent his once nobly erect frame; he had taken those thousands



out of what was then almost the heritage of a widow and her three orphan children; but he gave all freely; for his Antioch was saved. The crown of his hopes and desires was secured. Then, rejoicing in that success, and uttering his last words of fatherly counsel to his last graduating class, as he sent them forth to a life of noble aims and activities of which his own life may fitly be to them a cherished ideal; the noble, faithful, heroic man lies down and dies; leaving us his inspiring example; but leaving, in his peculiar sphere of excellence, no peer behind him.

"Nothing aroused his interest and enthusiasm like the earnest attempts of men—especially of the young—to learn their duty and to do it. He had an unspeakable abhorrence of sensuality, of baseness. He had at all times a withering way of denouncing wrongdoing, which made one think how Elijah's words shriveled up the wicked Jezebel and the priests of Baal. But the life of Horace Mann was a more emphatic testimony to duty than his words. His earnest words throbbed out of his own living bosom, to throb in the bosoms of many of his hearers. To many young persons, Horace Mann seemed a realization of lofty manliness and of loyalty to the laws of God. With him, everything was subservient to morality. He had made a duty of his health. Nothing but that enabled him to wear so long and to do so much. At his table, he gave thanks to God for his daily bread; and then he ate and drank in loyalty to God.

"He was the most temperate man that I have ever seen. He constantly 'kept his body under.' He often repeated that great principle of the Apostle Paul—'Your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost;' and his own pure-looking flesh and the noble erectness of his form fitly typified the indwelling purity and uprightness of his soul.

"He had a loving heart. How beautiful it was to hear him speak—so tenderly, reverently—of the one who long ago went before him! How beautiful to



behold him in the bosom of his family! How gentle with children! How ready to listen to those who were in want or trouble! How kindly considerate and respectful to his servants! When, yesterday, the report of his death came like a blow upon us, I told the sad news to one who for five years had lived in his family as a domestic. She bewailed his loss with moaning and tears.

"Multitudes of young men and women will feel their hearts tremble, under the news of his death, as when one loses a father. But they will be stronger than ever to toil in the paths of righteousness and usefulness, now that he, their revered teacher and shining example, has gone from his labors to his reward.

"Blooming Grove, N. Y., Aug. 5th, 1859."



CHAPTER IX

THE MEN AND THE TIMES

It is well for the world that here and there a man, standing above his fellows on the mountain peaks, sees visions and hears messages which he may translate to them. The great world spirit throbbing in our complex human life, is, with all its effort, able to make itself heard only to the few of finer ear, and to reveal its visions only to the far sight of those who, among the sons of men, have the gift of the prophet, and can act as interpreters to their kind. The men who transcribe these messages, and who catch the far visions, are men of practical spirit. They are largely the product of the age in which they live, and while standing upon the vantage ground of truth, there is in them a certain aloofness of spirit and an individuality of mind which separates them from their fellows. Sometimes they are born with great intellectual power. Sometimes their hearts are blessed with the spirit of brotherhood. Sometimes they are men with a genius for religion. Sometimes they are men into whose life there has been brought a vision, a longing and a hope of a great triumph for their kind. Men like these are born transformers, to teach their fellow men the vision of God. Such a one was Horace Mann.

He lived in the great formative period in our na-



tional life. He saw the nation carried forward from a population of scarcely 4,000,000 to a population of more than 31,000,000. The span of his life covered the period from the admission of Tennessee to the admission of Oregon. Eighteen new states were admitted, increasing the territory of the United States by more than 2,000,000 square miles, adding Florida, the inland empire of the Louisiana Purchase, Texas, Oregon and the great Mexico country.

He lived in the period when the site of the capitol at Washington was chosen and when the foundations were laid. In his lifetime, the Northwest Territory advanced from a sparsely settled region under one government to five princely states. Chicago came from a cabin to a city; St. Louis from a straggling village of a few hundred inhabitants to the great river metropolis of the Middle West. In his time the conquest of our great rivers was made by the invention of the steamboat and its wide use in all inland waters. The Erie Canal, finished in 1825 after seven years, made a highway between the East and the West. A great National Road was built over the mountains and far into the Mississippi Valley. There was much progress in social life. Men of the middle class enjoyed conveniences in their homes which were practically denied to kings in the eighteenth century. These years witnessed the abolition of imprisonment for debt and the strong advancement of the Washingtonian movement, which redeemed men by thousands from the curse of drunkenness.

In his time, the deaf were made to hear, the dumb to speak; the insane were soothed and won to their right minds; imbeciles, from the first dim glimmerings of



the intellect, came to be self-supporting, with some definite beams of intelligence.

Projects of radical reform were in the air. To quote John Morley: "A great wave of humanity, of benevolence, of desire for improvement,—a great wave of social sentiment, in short,—poured itself among all who had the faculty of large and disinterested thinking." Dr. Pusey and Dr. Newman, representatives of the vital movement in the direction of spiritual supernaturalism, were thinking and writing. Thomas Arnold and F. D. Maurice were trying to broaden the Church of England in the direction of human progress, so that it might embrace heaven and earth, faith and philosophy, creed and criticism. Dickens was showing up the abuses, cruelties and iniquities of the established order. Kingsley was stirring the cauldron of social discontent. The teaching of George Combe was heralded as an inspiration. Cobden was inaugurating a new era in industrial undertakings. The corn law agitation was started. John Bright and Daniel O'Connell were busy at their work of destroying monopolies. In France as well as in England, in fact, in all Europe, the seeds were ripening for the great revolt of 1848.

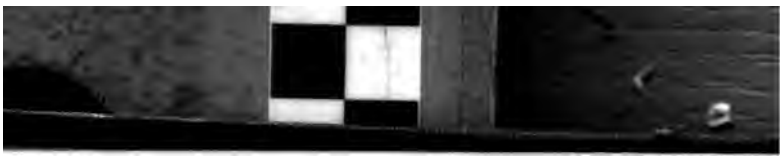
The influence of the new ideas was felt by the United States. The Communist experiment in Brazil was started in 1841; the Hopedale community in 1842; Robert Owen's enterprise may be said to have reached its highest level in 1826; the writings of Charles Fourier were interpreted here by Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley as early as 1842. No fewer than eleven experiments grew out of Owen's; no fewer than thirty-four came directly or indirectly from the influence exerted by Fourier.



The enthusiasm of humanity was widespread. We have the testimony of James Martineau to the fact that even Dr. Channing, for a season, fell under the fascination of some of the speculative writers that abounded at that time, who held forth the promise of a golden age for society; it was seen in writers like Rousseau, Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, and the Pantisocratists, like Southey and Coleridge, who actually entertained the thought of going to America to plant an ideal society.

It was the age of Napoleon, organizer of military force and military victory, moving kingdoms as pawns upon the checker-board, temporarily disorganizing the forces of civilization, but finally setting forward human progress for half a millenium. It was the age of Scott with his wonderful charm, with the spirit of knighthood and the color and beauty of the medieval time, transplanted by our American readers and thinkers to the unromantic conditions of the Western world; but finding, even here, place for the sentiments of chivalry and the noble and beautiful phases of early feudal forms and times; in all, kindling the historic and poetic times with a new fervor and firing the imagination as the works of nature alone can never do. In religion it was a time of great unrest. The bitterness of religious controversy and the tremendous effort for ecclesiastical organization wrought mightily among the people.

It is a wonderful thing for a man to live in such an age; more wonderful still if, with the impulses of his time supporting him, he finds his place and does his work. Horace Mann had gathered some of these great impulses. He had learned the spirit of New England



Puritanism, with its deep Calvinism and its budding spirit of Liberalism in religion. He had recognized the spirit of tolerance first seen by Roger Williams and taught as a part of their intellectual birthright to the students of Brown University. He had caught the echo of the great humanitarian movement that had swept through France and England, and come to make its home in a dozen little communities across the sea. He had gathered into his own life some of Franklin's sturdy heart and rugged common sense. He was a Yankee of New England, with the burning zeal of a martyr and the playful humor of a son of the granite hills. He had learned something of Webster's poise, and though perhaps half unwittingly, had looked out upon the needs and work of men, through his study of French thought and life, to gather, like Jefferson, those lessons which made him a staunch apostle of the rights of men.

After his removal to Boston, Horace Mann soon became one of the leading men of that city and of New England. Edward G. Loring introduced him everywhere, and Mr. Mann's wit and the sad story of his early bereavement, his gentleness and delicacy in private conversation, the brilliancy of his mind and his striking personality, won for him many admirers and not a few friends. The noted foreigners who came to Boston soon were brought into his circle. Charles Sumner, fresh from the charm of his foreign residence and the pleasure of loitering amidst the treasures and cultures of the old world, came to him with a mellow and a broadening influence. Later, Mann's own foreign travel opened to him the worldlife in a new and interesting way, though he never so far mastered German



or French as to be really at home among those who spoke only these tongues. His lecture tours took him to many parts of the new Republic, and in the days of his service with the Board of Education, a long journey from New England through Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky, to the home of Zachary Taylor brought him health and renewal of spirit and many a rich experience.

But any summary of the forces that worked in the life of Horace Mann must be poor indeed without that richer good which he found in human friendship. In every community, the finest and strongest men were his friends. He was himself a beneficent force and quickly found himself with a group of men who were bringing things to pass. His culture made him one with those who accomplish without having time to explain.

Ah! what a host of friends were gathered about him! Nearest, dearest and truest, was that great-hearted, magnetic, excitable genius, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, who loved him with all the rich intensity of his strong and impetuous nature.

The profound and transforming affection of Charlotte Messer had exalted and spiritualized his life, until he stood on a mountain peak of human affection, and when she was taken from him by the hand of death, his nature was left like a ruined castle, smitten by the lightnings of heaven. In this dark hour, a hundred friends sought to comfort him, but his old college friend, Silas Holbrook, with a gentle sympathy and with his fine understanding of Horace Mann's nature and his delicate persistence in the offices of friendship, wound himself into the terrible recesses



of gloom and despair, and lighted up the shadows with a new interest in human need.

Charles Sumner drew him to his own heart, and treated him like a brother, kindling afresh his enthusiasm and his power, and leading him out to a larger service in education, in politics, and in philanthropy. The strong men of New England, and indeed the country, needed only to be brought into touch with him to answer to the call of his noble spirit. Theodore Parker pledged himself heart and soul to the work for education and for liberty. He hunted up references for Horace Mann, sent him suggestions for lectures and articles, verified Latin quotations, defended him in the newspapers, and in every way made his own rugged common sense and sturdy effort and energy contribute to the advancement of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, through the public services of Mr. Mann.

It is doubtful if Horace Mann ever understood Emerson's nature, but he learned from him many an inspiring lesson and was stimulated by his lectures to his own highest achievement. Emerson poured purest light upon the great problems of human thought, making the dark places like noon-day, and giving men a new conception of the duty and influence of the scholar as a public man. Henry Wilson, tactful, adroit, sagacious, gave him many a lesson in practical politics, and joined him in deeds not a few for the benefit of the Commonwealth. E. G. Loring, pure of mind, generous of heart, gentle as a woman, heroic and persevering, pleasing, magnetic and sagacious, brought to Horace Mann wide acquaintanceship, public devotion, courage, healing and comfort.



Edmund Dwight, with balance of mind and heart, showed a profound interest in the advancement of education and steadily sustained Horace Mann. For sixteen years he contributed annually $500 toward Horace Mann's general expenses and made it possible for him to carry forward his great work in education, which otherwise he might not have been able to do. In the hour of need for the great normal school movement, he gave $10,000 on condition that the State legislature pledge a like sum, in order that the normal schools might be carried forward to the point of acknowledged success.

Henry Barnard, prince of American educators, friend, inspirer and historian, maker of educational history, recorder of great deeds and inspirer of deeds not less great, loved Horace Mann as a brother, and by his wide experience, interest, devotion and accurate educational knowledge, rendered to him a large service in many an emergency, and sustained him alone before the people in many a trying hour. S. P. Edmondson, with the poise of the philosopher and the zeal of the prophet, stood steadily at Horace Mann's right hand. Dorothy Dix, with inspiration of philanthropy, gave him new hope and courage for society, taught him many a fine lesson in sacrifice, in service and in practical politics. Dr. Channing illumined his mind, inspired his heart and nerved his arm to greater accomplishment.

While in the midst of his great work in Massachusetts, George Combe came to Boston to lecture upon Phrenology. To Horace Mann he was like a prophet, the revealer of a new philosophy and the inspirer of a new faith. From that time forward, Horace Mann had



found a new soul and wrought in this new philosophy with a hope and sureness of mind before unknown.

Robert Rantoul, Democrat, political opponent, but friend of the people and helper of every good cause, never failed Horace Mann in his hour of need. William H. Seward taught Mr. Mann many a lesson in practical affairs. Gerrit Smith gave him sound lessons in the broadest philanthropy and kindled yet more his devotion to the anti-slavery cause.

First, as a model, guide and inspirer, leader in politics, and later, as a pitiless and infuriated political opponent, Webster did for Horace Mann a service in the field of politics which no pen can adequately portray. He offered at once cause and conditions for that crisis in public affairs which carried Horace Mann on the rising tide of a new idealism, to the forefront of political life.

But Horace Mann had known many great and inspiring women. First, his own mother, ardent, kind, thoughtful, reserved, remote, practical, vigorous. Her life and his were knit together by a thousand ties, yet each life preserved a separateness and stood at a distance that only the new conditions of eternity could span. He found in Charlotte Messer his best interpreter of the love of God and the love of man, and a new type and sense of human affection such as he had never hoped to see. In her father's home he saw an ideal family life, and a perfect confidence between the members of the household which made him rich all his days. In the Peabody sisters, he found a new and universalized type of friendship which helped to lessen a certain provincialism from which, with all his breadth of view, he had never been quite able to escape. This letter from Elizabeth Peabody at Concord shows how



helpful was the appreciation and criticism of that gifted woman:

April 6, 1839.

My dear Friend,

There certainly was a time when I should have waited four days to tell you what I felt on Wednesday night in hearing your heart-thrilling eloquence. It quite roused the philanthropist in me which has been going to sleep. I was glad to feel myself weeping as of yore out of sympathy with my race, which has never seemed to me more precious than when you are pleading for it. I wept for joy that it had such a friend, and my joy was mingled with an indescribable sense of pathos in thinking of the speaker. These lectures are very possibly using up your mortal existence, but they will immortalize it in the only desirable way, for they will convert your mortal life into spiritual life for thousands. I hope you have satisfaction in realizing this. I am sure there is "joy in heaven" over it—a joy you will soon partake.

But I will not attempt to particularize what I liked—what exalted me. It was worthy of yourself as I think you, and you know what that is. On the subject of beauty, you did not satisfy me quite. You do not place it so high as Dr. Channing does in his lectures on Self-culture. You do not make it a part of Morality, as it is, since its exclusion exalts into disproportionate activity every lower propensity. But perhaps this omission was not because you undervalued it, but because you had not room for everything. I cannot express to you how I enjoyed every word you said about women.

You produced a great impression here. There was a rush for tickets that night, and very many persons could not get any. A great many went both nights, not only women, but men, and there has one remark broken spontaneously from a great



many individuals (men), which I think is its highest praise; they have wished their parents could have heard it before they were brought up.

Mrs. Foote enjoyed your visit immensely. She said she felt like weeping when you had gone, and she rejoiced to think you went away feeling better than you did when you came. I have seen her only once and that was not long enough, or I suppose I should have heard more in detail of your conversation.

I, too, had a good time—better on the whole than I expected—for I have postponed to heaven the enjoyment of the intimate friendship which once made you the sharer of so much of my thought, and gave me the knowledge of your daily feeling. When I left Boston, I knew it would be so; for I know myself well enough to know that without equal reciprocation (that you would never find time for), my letters would soon come to an end, and I knew you well enough to know that without frequent interviews, the ease of reciprocation would soon be lost on your part.

But nothing is wholly lost. In heaven I shall take up all the threads of life that were broken by mere circumstances. I learn more and more to do without enjoyment in the present, (personal enjoyment I mean; for I have a sort of universal enjoyment rather more continuously than ever before) and there I have in my faith and hopes the Past transfigured in the Future. Do go and see Mary as much as you can. It will do yourself good, mind and body, and it gives her the greatest pleasure. She is all interested in your great subject, you know.

Goodbye. Heaven bless you and speed you on your way. Yet such a wish seems as superfluous in your case as if addressed to the sun who needs must roll, and bless.

Your affectionate friend,

E. P. P.



CHAPTER X

THE MAN

Horace Mann was striking in his personal appearance. He was over six feet, straight, and so slender as to appear tall. From his college days he was never wholly well, and only by great watchfulness was he able to preserve even moderate health. His abstemious diet forbade any considerable accumulation of flesh. His length of limb and swinging gait added to the masterful expression of his form. He was strikingly erect and his three-story head was crowned with hair, early silver, and later as white as the driven snow. Mrs. Jane Swisshelm, in her sketches of members of Congress, says: "Any one visiting Washington may know him without the trouble of pointing out. He is the *tall*, striking gentleman, with the clean face, white hair, gold-rimmed spectacles, black clothes and firm quick motions." His face, plain and even stern in repose, became radiant whenever he smiled.

Surrounded by cultivated people from his youth, his responsive nature quickly took on those qualities of graciousness in bearing which so well become the scholar and the man of affairs. His gestures were mild and fitting. His whole manner gave evidence of good taste.

Mr. Mann was of that quality of spirit which rapidly developed into what is known as personal magnetism. The charm made itself felt without effort and lingered



long with those who had felt its power. Once when traveling through Western New York, Mr. Mann spent the night at the home of a gentleman in a country district. In the course of the evening he asked for a drink of water, which was brought to him by a boy of ten, the son of the host. Mr. Mann's gracious manner and courteous speech made such an impression on the boy's mind, that fifty years later he recounted the incident with the glow of childhood.

He was liberal-minded, generous-hearted, dignified in his deportment and refined in his ideals, admired by his constituents, and deeply loved by his friends. His affection was intense, amounting in a few cases almost to idolatrous devotion, and in his association with near friends, having a playfulness and tenderness which made him the light of the little social circle. A gracious old lady, who with her husband was a visitor at his home in Yellow Springs, gleefully told of his tying on her bonnet one evening when she and her husband were ready to take their leave.

His bashfulness sometimes held him back from things that he was anxious to do, but as he grew older, there was an increasing promptness to take hold vigorously upon the things of the hour. His quick reaction-time helped to overcome the tendency to delay. His remarkable power to penetrate the special needs of a given situation gave him a relentlessness and an immediateness of action which passed with many as an audacity little short of the sublime.

His tastes were marked by a high simplicity. When his prejudice had not been excited, he had great willingness to right a wrong, and was grieved many times lest, unintentionally, he should work harm to an inno-



cent party. The benevolence of his nature was ever appearing in benefactions to individuals and to society. Horace Mann's great heart-yearning was for a type of society where every nature might find its true recognition, and where body, mind and spirit, might rise to the fulfillment of their highest prophecy.

"For moral earnestness, a depth of conviction that permeated body and soul, and enabled him to give himself wholly to what he undertook, I have never known his equal. Nor for absolute unselfishness—a devotion, without one private reserve, to the public good—a devotion which made the enemies of the public his enemies, have I yet found his superior. And then, his notions of usefulness were so profound, they were shared by so few, that they were of a character never to excite enthusiasm, nor to give him sudden glory. They involved years of patient, unpraised, or dispraised labor; sacrifices of property, peace, health, taste, companionship; they triumphed in quiet and in personally unrewarding ways; they were genuine acts of self-consecration. We have had a few public men of patient patriotism—men willing to bear odium and suspicion and abuse for the sake of their convictions of duty. But in the small class of men not receiving their reward in the personal idolatry of a sect or class, but finding it only in the consciousness of duty long and faithfully done—I can think of two only in our time, who deserve to stand with Horace Mann; John Quincy Adams and Josiah Quincy."*

"The glowing ardor and eloquence of his composition, the intense love of liberty with which he is inspired, the humanity by which he is actuated, the fine scholarlike accomplishments which he exhibits, all command my respect and admiration. Whether his judgment and prudence are equal to his ardor and his energy is another question."†

* Henry W. Bellows. † Professor Moses Stuart.



It was a blemish on his nature that he trusted some people so absolutely, and was so habitually suspicious of others. His friendships were usually among men of the highest character, but now and then a disreputable wretch would win his way to Mr. Mann's confidence, giving him a certain kind of service in politics or in controversy, and be rewarded in turn by a kind and degree of friendship out of all proportion to his just deserts. On the other hand, worthy men were often misjudged by him, and some little habit of mind or peculiarity of manner would condemn them to his lasting and pitiless dislike.

His judgment of men was harsh; his charity for them too small; his estimate of their goodness was ungenerous, and his tendency to impute wrong motives was often without sufficient warrant. Even with his great visions and his noble interpretations of human life, he would in the hour of controversy, like a weak man, take advantage of petty quirks and quibbles, give himself to cheap devices and petty defenses, and play with the truth as if it were less than the most sacred thing in the world, forgetting, great and noble man that he was, that any injustice wrought by him must count a thousand times beyond that of his more commonplace fellows. Yet we can only think that he never fully recognized the inconsistency of his behavior, nor the severity of his judgment. We must remember that he believed in absolute and not in relative right, and that the principles of morals could be stated with mathematical exactness. When once he committed himself to a certain cause, he became the advocate of that cause, determined at all hazards to see it triumph. Probably no one ever entered into



a burning controversy with him without finding him a most implacable antagonist, nor left him without the feeling that, although a mighty fighter, he was as a man, unjust and relentless.

The severity of his judgment of others probably came from two causes: first, he saw the right with wonderful clearness and saw it in so vivid a light that he was unable to understand how anybody could fail to see it as he did; and second, it was the habit of his life to do immediately and strongly whatever seemed to be right. It mattered not that his judgment was often warped. He recognized no relative conditions in the realm of morals. There was nothing that was partly right; it was either wholly right or wholly wrong. However valuable such a temperament may be in a typical reformer, it makes the world an unpleasant place and gives basis for the maxim that "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." Horace Mann was a child of the Pilgrims, with their instincts and purposes and modes of thought. He came of a stern old stock that might have followed Cromwell or have given lessons to Charles V. of Spain in the practices of the Inquisition.

He, early in life, established a habit of tracing things back to their sources, and this led him to trace every evil which he attacked back to its bitter and vicious beginning. He did not always mean to be so severe as he seemed. Gifted in the use of words as deadly weapons, many a time he stabbed where he meant only to warn.

He loved and admired Dr. Craig and wanted him to share in the work at Antioch. But once, when Dr. Craig finally refused an oft-repeated invitation, Horace

Mann wrote the following letter which illustrates his terrible severity in the use of language:

ANTIOCH COLLEGE,
YELLOW SPRINGS, July 20, 1858.

My dear Mr. Craig,

I have just received yours of the 16th instant. It wrings my heart. Amid the exhaustion of past efforts and the frightful labors that now stare me in the face—made necessary by your refusal to touch them with the end of your finger—a few words are forced from me.

Please never speak to me again of the *Practice* of *Duty*, but only of its *Theory*. Please never speak to me again of Jesus Christ as a being whose life and sacrifices are *to be imitated* but only *to be talked about*.

I write these few words now, while a glimpse of the eternal verities shines upon me. Were I to wait until to-morrow, perhaps were I to wait but an hour, my old love for you (and what man did I ever love so well) might come back again, and I could not then utter them. *Farewell.*

HORACE MANN.

Mr. Mann's ideal of the possibilities in human nature was so high that he was continually disappointed by the failures of his fellow-men to reach a standard which seemed to him entirely possible. As a result of this, and of his legal training and experience, he thought meanly of mankind, but instead of restricting his efforts on that account, he made every evidence of unworthiness an additional incentive in the effort to have human nature realize itself in the highest sense.

Mr. Mann had all those qualities of temperament which made him a tremendous opponent in controversy. His sensitive disposition and the rare ardor



with which he espoused a cause, led him to see slights more clearly than most men, sometimes where none were intended. In every great work which he undertook he seems to have found a field for controversy. His most famous controversies were those with the Thirty-one Boston Masters, with Rev. Matthew Hale Smith, with Daniel Webster, and with Wendell Phillips in Massachusetts; and with Prof. Ira W. Allen and a group of representatives of the Christian Church in Ohio. His method of controversy is no better illustrated than in a note on one of his published letters to his constituents, May 3rd, 1850, in which he pays his respects to General Cass:

"In General Cass's reference to me, in the above-mentioned speech, there are many curious things. He arraigns me for referring to him; but he remembers to forget, that in a long *parvum in multo* speech which he made last January, he first assailed me. He puts on a sanctimonious face and reads me a lecture for citing the Scriptures; while, with the very speech that contains the censure, he cites the Scriptures six times, in the same way as I did once. Is there any canon of the Church which forbids my referring to the Scripture, but allows it to a seeker for the Presidency?

"But his theological knowledge is the most extraordinary. In referring to the ninth commandment, about bearing false witness against one's neighbor, he came only within six of it; for he called it the 'third.' I hope for the credit of the country some friend will help him to correct this before it goes into our documentary history; and, in the meantime, I commend him to the Sunday-school Society. . . .

"In his last speech, General Cass deems it not unworthy of his Senatorial dignity to pun upon my name. A pun has been called 'the smallest kind of wit,' and I think the General has here produced the



smallest specimen of the 'smallest kind.' Did it not occur to the General that his own name offers the most grievous temptation for punning?

"As a general rule, I contemn punning. As a malignant *attack* upon any gentleman for the accident of his name, it is wholly unpardonable; it is barely justifiable as a last *retort*. To warn the General of the dangers he encounters by indulging in his love of punning, I will venture to subjoin a specimen or two, of what might be easily and indefinitely extended."

Mr. Mann then proceeds to offer puns on the General's name philologically, numerically, chemically and gastronomically. These puns are distinctly unworthy of him, but no doubt gave him grim satisfaction in the feeling that he had outdone his rival in this field.

"Mr. Mann's feeling was deep and when he took up a matter he went far in support of it, proving himself an unmatchable controversialist. He had a most angry animated controversy with Mr. Webster and came off victor; and those who came to the great man's rescue were as readily disposed of as the Saxon Knight disposed of the Templar's associates in the lists of Ashby. There may be, or there is, much difference of opinion as to the merits of that controversy, but there can be no doubt as to the consummate skill with which Mr. Mann managed his side of it, or of the fact that his alone were the victor's laurels."

His early habit of unremitting toil became more and more pronounced with advancing years. The depression resulting from the death of his first wife was only in part relieved by his tremendous devotion to hard work. Many a night he went to his bed only to bathe his pillow with tears, and, rising unrefreshed on



the morrow, toiled to the point of exhaustion again, that he might not think on his loss, which had shattered his whole nervous system and made his life an unrelieved period of pain. He came to think of work as a sacrament, and persuaded himself that his love for this high service led him to these orgies of toil. But it is a much truer explanation to say that his poor, tired nerves, so often imposed upon, could more easily work than rest. From long habit, the jaded body turned to work to forget its very weariness, the remedy increasing the disease. But his temperament and his habit of toil gave him one great element in the struggle for victory, the determination and the ability to work, and work strongly, under the most adverse circumstances. By means of this power he won many a great victory in the very hour of defeat.

There is no better proof of a fine conscience, united with a fine culture, than that which appears in patriotic service. This social consciousness which recognizes man's obligation to his state and his country is usually a late development in the life of the individual, but Mr. Mann very early seemed to feel his obligation to render some large service to the promotion of the common weal. As a citizen, his thought and his service were admirable. Prompt at every call of duty, clear in his thought, strong in his life, more than a hundred years in advance of his age in the recognition of the needs and duties of citizenship, he lived toward his ideal with all the vigor of a strong and consecrated nature.

As a politician, Mr. Mann held very high ideals, and gave himself to the cause of good government with complete surrender. But according to any modern



definition of a politician, he was far too indifferent to the multitude. He cared too little for conciliating the prejudices and the petty pretenses of the masses, and he thought too meanly of human nature in general, to make himself a man for all the people. Yet in every great emergency he was always the man of the hour. When named to succeed John Quincy Adams, he announced his political beliefs and demanded for himself the right to think and to act as his judgment and conscience might determine, and this with an independence utterly foreign to the typical politician. In his understanding of public questions and in his outlining of a great policy, he took high ethical grounds, but in spite of the extreme Puritan conscience, when he undertook to mold public opinion and to incorporate into the statute law a principle which he advocated, he at once became an opportunist, securing from a blinded and unwilling people the very most that he could get them to yield, willing to accept for a time, as though it were all, a partial granting of his highest ambitions and desires; but at this point he never slept, and at the next favorable opportunity, he was again ready to crowd forward the great movement to which his judgment had been long committed. Horace Mann, with the eye of a statesman and the eye of a prophet, was born to be a builder of commonwealths. Not a builder like Cecil Rhodes,* who, by great achievements in material lines, would stretch a railroad from Cape to Cairo; not a revolutionizer of empires like the great Napoleon, who played with the kingdoms of the world as he pleased; but a prophet and inspirer who in his vision saw, through

* "Cecil Rhodes," McClure's Magazine, June, 1902.



the long centuries, the thought of God worked out among the children of men by glorious achievements in the world of knowledge, in the world of art, and in the world of industry; and this, widely accomplished by an education which should include the perfect development of every human soul. He has been called an educational statesman, but if he were alive in these days, he would be found first among the constructive sociologists who are just appearing to take their places in working out the problems of human society. He recognized that this great study of human conditions provides a fulcrum on which to rest the lever that is to lift society Godward. He was looking for the nation wherein dwells righteousness. It was a part of his political creed that "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people." He believed that every man has his own right to physical, intellectual and spiritual growth, that no creed or organization or company of men dare to put fetters upon the human mind, and that out of his age there would grow a great Americanism, broad as the world and deep as human needs.

He recognized ours as a land of great material advantages and prosperity. The noble tribute which he paid to the great West in his Inaugural Address at Antioch College gives the key to his vision and his power; he recognized that he had come to the new West at a time when it must be purified and spiritualized for the children of men. His work there was marred by the limitations of his own nature and by the tremendous intensity of his life and work, but no one can doubt that it was vigorously directed toward an effort to spiritualize life.



Mr. Mann's mind was quick and accurate and logical, and his speech abounded in wit, humor, pathos, irony and argument. He studied a subject through and through until he knew its minutest details. In the long years of his mature life, every one of which seemed to him an era of ill-health and suffering, he wrought out with the greatest care all his remarkable speeches. He depended largely upon manuscript, but read with such vigor, spirit and magnetism that the effect was almost as if he spoke extemporaneously. And he was an off-hand speaker of no mean power, ready at all times and on almost every subject. This was due not to his cast of mind, but to the fact that his mind was richly stored with material always well in hand. He felt that he was an undeveloped poet. Though his thought did not really take poetic form, many of his conceptions were marked by the poetic element. He thought in pictures and brought one vivid scene after another rapidly before his audience. The vigor of his mind, the eloquence of his diction, and the magnetism of his manner went far to carry conviction to his audience. He had an infinite stock of proverbs and wise sayings. In the character of his material and the method of presentation, he might have been compared with the great preachers of New England; and his early habit of preparing something that one juryman could quote to another in the jury-room in support of Mr. Mann's argument, developed in him a habit of epigrammatic statement which was of life-long use.

"Mr. Mann was possessed of talents of the very highest order, and as a speaker and a writer we doubt if he had a superior among his contemporaries. That there were more brilliant rhetoricians than he could



pretend to be, and orators better calculated than he was to dupe juries, and to puzzle judges, and to dazzle political meetings, we well know; but in strength of argument, in hard logic, in caustic irony, in burning invective, in clear language, in affluence of knowledge always available and appropriately applied, he never had a superior. We never read one of his productions that was written under pressure of strong feeling, without being astounded at the extent of his talents. Every word that he used represented a thought. His style realized an idea, that language should be, not thought's garment, but its incarnation."*

Before his deep sorrow, he must have been a charming member of every social circle. A hint of his exuberance and spirit of glee is found in this extract from a letter of his niece, Rebecca Pennell:

"My mother, who was eight years his senior, has often spoken of his jests, telling how they were always tempered by his kindness; and also how they vanished at the calling of duty or when a new book came in sight. I remember, as I have said above, how it was always running over (as he caught me in his arms and swung me around his head, or made some witticism of every word I uttered), previous to his great bereavement. That stroke paralyzed everything of him but his moral nature. Glee was hushed; ambition for what the world covets, *killed*. We children, when he came among us, stood aside silent, and almost awe-struck at the change.

"And so, though he almost never spoke of her whom he mourned, we knew where his thoughts were, and felt no power to draw them away. I used then to comb his hair, as you have seen me, and hours and hours while thus employed, have I heard him half articulate snatches of poems, devotional ones always—passages of Holy Writ,—and some resolves of self consecration.

* "The California Traveller."



"His imagination transfigured the beautiful being, who had passed away, into an angel of light; and as he worshipped, he was lifted above earth and its temptations. If you have ever heard him talk about temptation, you must have seen how many things before attractive to him were all cast down under his feet. It was in these days of his life that this mastery was gained. Then was born that self-esteeming that counted all else as dross, if he could 'make the world better for his having lived in it.'

"When expostulated with for taking upon himself terribly arduous labors, as he did all through his Secretaryship of the Board of Education, he once said, 'never mind this shattered hulk, if it goes down in a good cause, what matter, whether a few years sooner or later?'

"I do not believe that grief made him a philanthropist,—he had by nature that sensitive temperament—and his labors for Temperance, for the Insane, for the Blind, were commenced in his happiest days—in his busiest days—as young men just trying their strength in their profession, usually think. Experience of the difficulty of bringing things right by legislation, of which he had enough in his attempts at carrying forward these reforms, must necessarily force a man with causality to look for other means; he saw in education that means. Education not as it was then generally administered, but education broadened so as to include the physical relations of man, and deepened so as to touch the secret springs of moral action.

"There is a very general impression abroad that philanthropists are one-idea men, disagreeable from this predominance of their speciality, but he should never be so represented. Who ever came to him with *real work*, in any department of human labor,—mechanical invention, agricultural experiment, scientific discovery, a new theory of law or morals, a new creation of art, without receiving respectful hearing and en-



couragement? I think he was so by natural organization. The new thing, unless proved the good thing, had no charm for him, and could never overcome his cautiousness. I do not think he was like most reformers in being dogmatic and self-esteeming. He was firm only when planted. The truth was God's, not his own, and so he felt strong in it, *never in himself*, or in his power to defend it. Many a time I have heard him say of some cause which he advocated, 'The time will come when the truth in it will be seen; though I have no power to make it appear.' He never had any adequate idea of his personal influence, of the effect of his words and works. He thought people foolish who went far and often to hear him speak, and would hardly credit the fact when told that some person whom he had thought sensible, had walked ten miles for the purpose of hearing him. I must say a word about his being harsh and severe in controversy. When scientific men find a new element, they must have a new word by which to designate it. He saw the 'exceeding sinfulness of sin' more clearly than any person I ever knew, and who thinks he ever describes all he sees with the natural eye.

"I have been by him when he girded himself for his most severe conflicts, and know how, while he saw the huge work to be done, he hesitated because he might be wrong—might not be the best person—the best time might not have come. In all his controversies he was attacked, never the assaulter. I remember that in the first lecture I ever heard him deliver something like this occurred: 'We want men who, when the waters of moral desolation are flowing in upon them, will rush to the breach and stand there, yea, die there, if need be.' His conflicts were of this sort. He loved the calm and peaceful everywhere."

He loved Rebecca Pennell like a daughter, and was repaid in a trusting and beautiful affection. At his suggestion, she was chosen as one of the instructors at



Antioch College, and in the following letter he urges upon her the importance of full preparation in point of health to meet the duties of her new position:

TOLEDO, Jan. 2, 1853.

. . . . Now, my dear, always some affectionate tears before a hard word,—I think you have always carried your Protestant ideas so far as never, in any instance, to have taken my advice in reference to anything pertaining to your health. Notwithstanding this poor encouragement, I am going to try it again. I want you to leave that school and dedicate yourself, till we go West, to the confirmation of your health. I know, or at least can guess, what you will say in reply to this; viz., that you are well now, and do not need any reprieve from labor. To all this, I feel bound in conscience to give a flat contradiction. That you seem to yourself to have activity enough to go through with all your proposed labor, that your assertion is prompted by your feelings, I have no doubt. But it is judgment, not feeling, that should guide; and there are cases where your friends are a truer guide than your own sensations.

Let me tell you one of the most certain certainties in my experience. I have always found that the productions of my own mind, when I am not strong and well, show the weakness of their paternity. No matter whether it be conversation or composition, what I throw off in a state of weakness, or in a state of excitement which often accompanies weakness, will not bear the test of a cool revision. It may have seemed at the time to be better than usual; the light of retrospection shows it to have been inferior. I suppose this to be a general law of mind, and therefore it is no discredit to you to suppose that you are bound by it. Indeed, that state of mental excitement, in which you are so sure you are well, and feel



equal physically to any task, and protest that you need no repose, is just as obvious to me, as a looker-on, as is the condition of a man who has taken champagne. I distinguish it as the vivacity of excitement and not the strength of repose. Now, in your present state of bodily health, you are liable to this kind of excitement, and it is impossible that you should not have excess of it, if you will not fortify your physical health. That is the only remedy—the only remedy in the nature of things. Now, on the eve of a new enterprise, with whose success or failure your name will always be indissolubly associated, are you not bound to enter upon it with all attainable advantages? Is not the highest practicable state of health one of these advantages, and is it not attainable? Can you excuse yourself for neglecting it?

Now, I mean by all this, not simply that you should leave your school. You should leave hard work of all kinds and consecrate yourself to the renovation and confirmation of health alone. Your future pupils will have the benefit of it, and what is more, the new and momentous experiment we are to try, will have that benefit in a still higher degree.

Now, I have spoken to you plainly as it was my duty to do. Do not attempt, I beg you, to answer me by words. Deeds are the answer for which I shall feel most grateful. If you cannot give me this answer, then let there be silence between us on this subject evermore. You are most dear to me at any rate, but the stronger and better and more superior you are, the more there will be of you for me and others to admire and love. Do not try to compass everything in this life, but leave something for eternity.

Yours as ever, most affectionately,

HORACE MANN.



Horace Mann was absorbed by a great grief which came near blighting his life, and it was fortunate indeed that he was finally brought into that tender and sympathetic relationship with Mary Peabody, which led him to ask her to become his wife. Even in those days he could only say, "I can offer you but the shadow of a heart, for mine lies buried in the grave." Wiser than he, she took him at his word and found back of that "shadow" a glorious reality. Their home life was beautiful and the affection between them was so true and fine, that all her life she thanked God that she had come to know this great and noble man. He enjoyed her full sympathy and active co-operation. His delicate appreciation of her services is shown in the commission which he gave to his friend Clap at the close of his own service as Secretary.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14, 1850.

Mr. E. W. CLAP,

My dear Sir,

My wife has looked over all the proofs of my reports, and has in various ways rendered me great service in my editorial labors. Indeed, without her assistance, I should have found it sometimes impossible to get along without slighting my work. I have thought as this $750 (if I get so much) would be the last money I should ever get out of my Secretaryship, I would give her a gold watch for her reward. Whom can I entrust such a commission to, better than to you, to whom I think it will not be unpleasant?

Yours very truly,

HORACE MANN.

Mr. Mann's quick interest in home and children breathes in almost every letter which he writes from Washington to his wife at West Newton:



"Jan. 27, 1849.—I cannot advise you about help, but this I want to have laid down as a first principle; that you shall take care of your own health and comfort. Have whatever help for this purpose you need; after this, let us consult common sense and economy; the other is the true economy."

"Jan. 15, 1849.—I am sorry to hear that Rebecca is laying out for so much work. Her brain will have no time to rest and grow. Two lessons a week with what you can help her I should think would be sufficient; but she is somewhat like Sir Walter, who, when he was told to remit the forced action of his brain, said that Molly might as well put the teakettle on and tell it not to boil."

"March 6, 1848.—You may let the trees stand till I come home. They may help to warm me as trees, before they warm me as fuel."

"Wash. June 18, 1848.—I am glad you had a visit from Downer. I consider him one of the most sensible and truest-hearted men I ever knew. His fidelity to me, tho' it might be an objection to him in some minds, is not a serious one in mine."

"Dec. 20, 1848.—Dear Horace: All the little boys are here and they mind very quickly."

"Wash. May 20, 1848.—Dear Horace: Sometimes gentlemen want a little water, and then they ask a boy to get it for them and the little boys run very quick. Oh! how quick they run. Gentlemen do not have to ask them again."

"May 27, 1848.—Your details about the children are very interesting to me. I wish it could all be good, but that cannot be while human nature remains as it is, especially hu-man nature."

"Jan. 28, 1849.—I read your letter received this morning with thrilling interest. I fear it is a misfortune that Horace has become acquainted with so many characters in the drama of life, who turn it into tragedy. I cannot but think it best that a child's mind should for a long time, perhaps I may say for



the longest time practicable, be left in ignorance of the wickedness of the world. This is one of the few cases where 'ignorance is bliss,' and it is then ''tis folly to be wise.' After he had got hold of the picture I think you made the best use of it possible; but still I wish he had not seen it. You must watch the development of his vices that come out of the newly opened fountain of thought and feeling. Keep all hint of it from Georgie."

"Dec. 29, 1848.—Is it not George's birthday today? Five years old! How they push us along. It is our turn now. You speak of your mother's age. You have been pushing her along until she has arrived almost at the verge of life. This you must not mourn over inconsolably nor too deeply. It is the order of nature and you cannot contend with the conditions of life. Rather prepare yourself to meet what, if you live long, must inevitably come. If I had any hope that I should live as long, in regard to our children, as your mother has lived, for you, I should be relieved from many anxieties that now often oppress me."

In the days of Mrs. Mann's widowhood and life in Cambridge, Mattie Griffith Satterlie lived very near Mrs. Mann's pretty, restful home, and with a brother and sister and two neighbors' girls of twelve and fifteen, formed a class in French literature. The children were perfectly at home with Mrs. Mann and many were the bright pictures she painted for them of her home and life in Ohio. Miss Satterlie says:

"Her married life had been a singularly happy one. Her tender absorbing love for the Great Educator was like an exquisite romance. She had been a widow for several years when I met her, I being a little girl of eight years. She would talk to us about her happy life with her dear husband. Her soft cheeks would flush so prettily until they looked like late summer roses.



Over her sweet face there would come a soft dreamy look that would thrill us all, children though we were.

"I heard one of her nieces say to her upon one occasion, 'Aunt Mary, you idealize all husbands.' Mrs. Mann looked at her quietly for a moment, then her little laugh rippled forth (she had the sweetest laugh, like the soft trill of a bird) and she said, 'Well, dearie, perhaps I do err a little that way; I always think of *one* dear husband.' I called out in impulsive school-girl fashion, 'But he was a hero.' She placed her soft hand under my chin, and looking into my youthful eyes, replied, 'No, my child, he was a *dear*, and that is much more delightful in the home. He was nothing but a great, big, loving boy with the children and me.'

"I can see her that late autumn afternoon, as she sat in her little den, surrounded by a circle of young people. She made a most picturesque figure. She was very tiny, delicate as a fairy. On this particular afternoon, Mrs. Mann was more than usually interesting. She told us of her experiences with Mr. Mann during his term as President of Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. At that time, Ohio was almost a frontier state. The conditions were of the crudest. Mr. and Mrs. Mann were taking an afternoon drive one day. The country was desolate and dreary; the country people even more discouraging and forlorn in appearance. She turned to Mr. Mann and said, 'Dearest, dreary indeed is the life of the pioneer.' 'Mr. Mann turned to me,' she went on, 'his face radiant as if from an inner light, and replied, 'yes, dear. but the reward will be all the greater in the future, long after the pioneer himself has passed on.' She paused, her own face luminous with such a tender look that her child friends sat awed."

Her beautiful appreciation of Mr. Mann is found in touching conversations with her friends, but more in the privacy of her own journal.



"May 1. My wedding day. He always brought me flowers when we could not walk together, and then he gathered them for me. How difficult it was to tell him my joy in him, he was so modest. No maiden blushes more readily at sudden praise of her beauty than he did at commendation. He must needs veil his face to hear it, but it touched him deeply when deserved, and coming from those he loved. I dreaded this day, but it has been calm and peaceful, like the wedding day itself. How little I regarded the tumult when we embarked in the Hibernia. It was a lovely day and made for our happiness, and friends cheered us as we left the wharf, and we had the whole sky to expand in and be happy. Everything seemed to have come to an end, and then to have begun again. My sore heart was made whole again. It had suffered too cruelly for him, and now there was peace."

Horace Mann's ideals for his children are here expressed:

"SCRANTON, Pa., Dec. 19, 1852.

". . . . This is near the poetic valley of Wyoming, but it is really the valley of stone-coal and all iron manufactures. A new place grown out of the mineral riches of the earth, just as soon as there was knowledge enough to discover them.

"So it will be with all riches as soon as they are combined with intelligence and skill. This doctrine I apply to our boys. If they really have common sense, and we can give them a good education—in which I include a good moral character—I have no fears for a good share of success for them in the world. I desire that they should have the very best education this age of the world can supply, and then if I leave them with this and integrity and truth and nothing else, I shall go out of the world thinking my duty in this respect not ill done. I cannot bear to think of them so cramped and straitened for means as I was; but even that is a thousand times better than ignorance;



and ignorance is a calamity ten thousand times less to be deprecated than any form of vice."

The awful religious reaction which marked his boyhood days, joined with his college and legal training, resulted in a desire for a sound basis of belief. In his effort to harmonize what seemed to him to be discordant elements in the world, he reached out for some system of ready-made philosophy, but found nothing which suited his mind until he was brought into touch with the teachings of the great George Combe, on Phrenology. Mr. Combe had presented this subject in a way to make it seem really worthy to be called a science, and the larger aspect of his philosophy, as presented in his "Constitution of Man," could not fail to exercise a wonderful influence over the inquiring, aspiring and practical mind of Horace Mann. He felt the need of a solid foundation; such a foundation Mr. Combe supplied. He felt the need of a system permeated by the universal law; the universal law of God and man was traceable in every statement which Mr. Combe made. Mr. Mann was one of the first in the field of physiological psychologists, and he looked upon phrenology as the great interpreter of human life and conduct. As in the time of Christ the whole world was on tip-toe for a new revelation of the Divine, so in Horace Mann's time the minds of the thinkers and friends of men were alert for a revelation which should usher in a new order of society. Mr. Mann and his confrères felt that in Phrenology they had such a revelation. As in everything else that he touched, Mr. Mann interfused this whole subject with a spirit of benevolence and causality, and from the time he first really knew George Combe, be became one of



the ardent advocates of the new teaching. Mr. Mann found in George Combe a brother to his soul, and the richest and finest relationship was developed by their association. Mrs. Combe was likewise congenial. In co-operation with a dozen of his friends who also accepted the teachings of Phrenology, Horace Mann contributed his influence to the establishment of those teachings which he felt would transform the face of society. In grateful recognition of this high personal service, he writes Mr. Combe:

". . . . My dear friend, you must come and watch me a day and see what I have to do; and then you would not only grant amnesty for the past but free Popish indulgences for the future. But from all this, how can you infer forgetfulness? How can I forget you, who have done my mind more good than any other living man,—a hundred times more? I not only think of you, remembering you, but, in a very important and extensive sense, I *am you*. You are reproduced in my views of life (though not in my views of death) and in that understanding of the wisdom and ways of Providence which vindicates God to man."

Best of all for Horace Mann, Phrenology helped him to reorganize and readjust his religious opinions. He seems never to have thought out carefully and deeply any system of philosophy, but there was so much good common sense in the general teaching of George Combe, that it enabled him to give religion a new and beautiful interpretation. He recommended Combe's writings on every hand.

"BOSTON, Nov. 9, 1838.

"TO LYDIA B. MANN,

". . . . I intend to send you Combe's book on the 'Constitution of Man,' also some phrenolog-



ical works, with a marked part. I want you to read something on Phrenology, not that you may become a believer in that part of it which treats of the correspondence between the powers of the mind and the external development of the head, but that you may study thoroughly and become complete master of that system of mental philosophy which is maintained by the phrenologists. No study can be so useful to you, after knowing how to take care of your health. I know of no book, written for hundreds of years, which does so much to 'vindicate the ways of God to man,' as does the 'Constitution of Man,' above referred to. Its philosophy is the only practical basis of education. If you once master it, it will be of invaluable service to you, should you ever be engaged in school again. To learn with what various and different endowments heaven has blessed us, to discover or perceive the exquisite manner in which we have been fitted for the world in which we have been placed, and that the calamities and sufferings of men come either from not knowing, or not obeying, the laws impressed upon our being by our Creator, that is wisdom. You will discover from this inquiry that our misfortune is not the possession of any faculty or power which in itself is an evil, but the abuse or misuse of those which are given for beneficent purposes.

"Mr. Combe, the author of that work, is now in the city. He is just closing a course of lectures on Phrenology, which I have attended. He is truly a great man,—not so much from having any splendid natural endowments, as from having for many years pursued enquiries into the human being, with an impartial view of the discovery of truth. This is the greatest of human attainments—an impartial mind—he has it and owes his eminence to it."

One element of a great character is the power to inspire friendship in noble natures. The letter of



Dr. Howe to Horace Mann on this subject is intimate, personal, sacred, and deserves a place among the classic records of friendship between strong men:

Saturday Evening, 11 o'clock, Dec. 4 (probably 1838).
My dear Mann:

You ask me if you are never to see me,—and my heart gives the sad answer,—that YOU can see me almost any time, but don't think enough about it to let me know when you are in town: you know you MUST come to town often, for a thousand purposes, while only ONE can call me to Newton. But I do not mean any reproach, my dear Mann; God knows, I feel my own inferiority to you in all that makes a man; and, in aspiring, as I have done, to a modicum of your regard and friendship, I have been willing to pay for it by rendering tenfold of my own. You have been of immense service to me by your example, and by the confidence and kindness you have shown to me: I feel that I owe you more than I could to a Dwight or a Lawrence who should take me into partnership and enable me to make a million of dirty dollars; and I trust I shall die richer in all TRUE WEALTH for what I have learned in intercourse with you. When, however, I think of dying—of leaving this field of usefulness and labor and improvement, and reflect how soon the time must come—how few there are in the world who can be to me such light, and guides, and exemplars, as you could be—when I look back upon the hopes I used to form of attaining an object of fond ambition—a high place in your affections, and then look forward and see that such hopes are vanishing, it makes me sad indeed.

Do not misunderstand me; I do not doubt that you regard me; I know you are too keen sighted and too just not to know that I have STRIVEN to do things pleasing to you, and to award me the proper feelings in return, but what I have had of



your regard only makes me long for more. But I'll not indulge in any sickly sentimentality; (I can hardly see for something that has been blinding my eyes for the past five minutes) and so will ask you straightforwardly, WHAT CAN I DO TO BE SAVED, for really, I feel I must be doing SOMETHING to bring me more in contact with you, something more to make up for all the sins of omission and commission which make all my youth and early manhood so cheerless to look back upon.

I have, it is true, a pretty fair week's work to do every week at the institution, and then there is my report on idiots, and my reply to Gray's pamphlet, to fill up odds and ends,—still, I want to do some thing that will bring us together. May God bless and preserve you, dear Mann.

S. G. HOWE.

Horace Mann's was a nature essentially religious. His morality was interfused with a great spiritual essence that quickened and refined and exalted it to the highest plane of religious impulse and feeling. For him to believe a cause was right, was for him to commit himself to it without delay and without reserve. The preaching of Dr. Emmons and the early teachings of Calvinism had burned and blistered his moral nature until it never quite recovered its tone, but in the later days the beneficent influences of human love, and the great visions that he saw of the power and majesty of God acting under law, with the beneficence that made life beautiful, led to those conditions which gave him a sweeter and a truer faith.

After his acquaintance with Phrenology and with its great expositor, Dr. Combe, he settled firmly into a conviction that the whole world is under the laws and guidance of a great bounteous and beneficent

Being, who loves his children and who would lead them into light, liberty and power. Nowhere can one so well see the glowing spirit of the man and realize the tremendous depth of his religious impulses and aspirations as in the "Twelve Sermons at Antioch College" and his meditations therewith. He comes to the very throne of the living God and looks into his face with confidence, love and trust, gladly owning him as his Father and placing himself, his friends and his students in the hands of this One whose life is love and power.

He seems never to have thought out in full a philosophy of life or of religion, but he had an ample stock of principles, and his nature was permeated by a strong religious faith,—a faith that was not lacking in that anchor which holds within the veil—a belief in immortality. This belief is voiced in his glowing and inspired words:

"Now all this vastness and splendor and durability are the birthright, or rather the birth-gift, of all. Nor have we any reason to suppose that the bounty of the Creator is to cease its overflow here, as though his fountains were exhausted or our urns were full. On the contrary, all our ideas of our Heavenly Father prompt us to believe that he has, forever will have, purer, more precious, and more copious gifts in store, corresponding with our enlarged and exalted capacities to receive them. All analogy teaches us that we have undeveloped faculties within us, susceptibilities of happiness yet dormant, for whose fervor and intensity this world is too cold and ungenial, and which therefore await our translation to the Land of the Blest, where a purer ether and subtler elemental fires shall kindle them into life. While we were yet in embryo, our bodies existed in form as perfect as at present;



our muscles, our brain, our lungs, and all our organs of sense were complete, but we needed to be ushered into this world of light and motion and beauty to call them into play.

"So in regard to the next stage of existence, we have the assurance of splendors and symphonies and loves such as eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive; and if so, then we must have within us, lying undeveloped and inert, the rudimentary organs of eye and ear and heart, with which we shall see and hear and feel the vision, the hallelujah and the ecstasy of the better world. As to this unseen and unimagined magnificence and beatitude of the future life, we are, while sojourning upon earth, only in the ante-natal state of darkness, inactivity and circumscription. Such is the nature which God has bestowed upon us, to be magnified, enlightened and adorned; and it is not given to mortal eloquence or poesy, with all their many colored words, to paint the number and the variegation of its glories!"

The beautiful, gifted and religious spirit of Elizabeth Peabody recognized in him a revealer of God:

"Tuesday, July, 1830.

"HORACE MANN:

". . . . No individual with whom I have had living converse has revealed to me more of God than yourself, yes, even in the very moments when on your lips have been the wildest expressions of doubt and orphanhood—when you said, for instance, those words last winter, that I truly think gave me the greatest idea of suffering I have ever had in my life, viz., that you never felt the will of God a motive in your heart, you proved to me that one element of God, the moral (though divided from the intellectual side of him), when embodied, was enough to save the whole world. For I am sure that you have embodied in yourself enough of humanity, enough of sentiment, to save the whole world, and did you see any method of

doing so, you would not hesitate one second to pursue it, though it led you through the path of crucifixion. . .

"Since few bring out into the phenomenal existence so much of the highest moral principle as you do, your isolation from God is peculiarly sad. You cut off and make solitary more of God than most people can; the child sighs for its father in proportion as it is prepared for the high communion. Besides, what makes the case a more painful one still, you do not merely cut off your own consciousness from God's fatherly love, but since, by your affections and social principle, you unite to your personality and consequently to your human destiny the choicest of the race that you have known, and even the race itself; you suffer the sense of orphanhood for all, and your whole heart is a sentiment of pity—pity of yourself and of others for their existence. And I do not wonder you pity yourself for being alive and also the miserable around you, and not only the miserable but the happy who also are liable to be miserable. I do not wonder that you feel nature sometimes to be a 'Charnel House,' and its beauties 'the mirage of the desert,' whose 'office is to deceive.' I should feel so continually did I separate them from God."

Likewise beautiful and strong is the testimony of Dr. Howe in a letter to Mr. Mann:

"I always feel that I have been devotional when I have spent part of a Sabbath with you, and if I could find a few as piously disposed as myself, I should be inclined to offer you a settlement as our pastor, but on the condition that you should be in a strict sense a pastor and lead your flocks into God's wide courts of nature every Sabbath and talk to us and teach us there. I am speaking neither in jest nor in profanity, when I say I have come near to a *change of heart* by knowledge of and communion with you and more like you. Would that I had been converted earlier!"



This chapter would not be complete without the discriminating letter of Dr. Theodore Parker, written from Europe to his friend Dr. Howe, who was playfully called "Chev" by a little circle of close friends, in recognition of their high appreciation of his chivalrous character. Mrs. Mann was particularly grieved at this letter, and others felt that it was needlessly severe. It is probably one of the truest and best pictures of Mr. Mann, as he appeared to an observer who stood near enough to see his work and recognize the spirit in which it was done, but not near enough to feel the close home sympathy and affectionate throb of the great heart which concealed itself from the outside world.

MONTREAUX, SUISSE, Aug. 26, 1859.

My Dear Chev.:—

I knew nothing of Mann's illness till your letter told me of his death. The last time I saw him, last autumn, I was ill, and he came to see me. He looked almost healthy, with more flesh and more color than I had seen before, and in admirable spirits. Who will do justice to his great merits as a philanthropist and a statesman? Nobody in America. I have known him since 1836; very well since 1848. I think I understand him as well as I admire, esteem and love him. But, alas! I am not there to preach his funeral sermon at the Music Hall, to appreciate his great services, to honor his great virtues, to point out his faults, and so let the dead man warn by his failings and instruct by his great merits, and thus continue the lesson of his life, though we can directly see its practical works no more. If you thought of him, in some respects, more highly than I did, I never wished your admiration to be less. If I qualified, I did not diminish it. I think there is but one

man in America who has done the nation such great services—that is Garrison; the two were much alike in their philanthropy and hatred of all oppression, in their asceticism and puritanic austerity, in their cleanness of life and readiness to sacrifice their own interests for a general good, in their steadiness of purpose and tenacity of work, and in the severity of their speech and the strength of their personal dislikes. But Garrison had more destructiveness and more courage, and also more moral directness in his modes of executing his plans. Mann did not know that "a straight line is the shortest distance between two points," in morals as in mathematics*: Garrison knows no other line in abstract morals or in concrete politics. MANN HAD BENEVOLENCE IN THE HEROIC DEGREE. I have known none who more deeply and heartily wished for the welfare of mankind; he was also singularly enlightened as to certain modes of carrying out his philanthropy, e. g., towards the insane, the poor, the ignorant, and the drunken. But I think his ideas of education were not the most enlightened and comprehensive; that his estimate of woman was unphilosophic and obsolete; and his schemes of penal legislation were quite behind the foremost philanthropy of the day, especially his adhesion to the gallows.

In his intellectual composition he lacked the ideal element to an extraordinary degree, yet his mind was as rich in figures and as vivid as a New England meadow in June. Still, there was little poetry in the man; the useful left no corner for the beautiful. He loved strongly and idealized

* This statement can be interpreted by the issues of the times. Garrison and, to a degree, Parker held that slavery should be abolished instantly, regardless of the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of society. Mr. Mann held that under the Constitution and by evolution slavery might be abolished legally. For thus holding he was held to be devious from the straight line.



the objects of his affections, making them quite other than they were; he also hated terribly, and never, I think, forgave a public or a private foe. His hatred idealized men downwards, and he could see no good in them, or, if any, it was deformed by the evil motive which he saw (or fancied he saw), prompting and controlling it all. Like other lawyers and politicians, he judged men ungenerously, and thought their motives mean. He loved few and liked not many. By nature he had great love of approbation, but in all his life I remember no act in which this mean passion got the better of his conscience, and bent him away from the path of right. His sense of duty was overwhelming. Bred in the worst form of Calvinism, he never wiped off the dreadful smooch it makes on the character—nay, he did not extract the dark colors that it BITES INTO the spiritual nature of the unlucky child. Hence his low estimate of men, hence his unforgiving disposition. For if he had much justice in the abstract, he had little mercy in the concrete. In his reactionary swing from Dr. Emmons' Calvinism, he went about as near Atheism as an intellectual man can go; and, as you say, under such circumstances, "that is pretty near." But his confidence in duty and philanthropy never failed him. He took phrenology for his scheme of metaphysics and knew no psychology but physiology. This materialism was a great hindrance to him in his educational schemes. It narrowed his views of human nature. He had not great confidence in the moral, and still less in the religious instincts of mankind; so, after he had broken with the substance of the popular theology, and rejected its miraculous claims to the uttermost, spurning all "revelations" and all "miracles," he yet clung to the hollow form, and used the language of theology, not as figures of speech, but as symbols of a fact. He did this because he

lacked confidence in man's power to walk without that crutch. I know no politician who so hated Calvinism; none who used its language so much, or who, to the public, appeared so much the friend of the ecclesiastic theology of which it is the poison-flower. There was a certain duplicity in the man, at strange variance with the austere purity of his personal life, and the lofty elevation of his purpose. This appears in his work as Secretary of the Board of Education, as Member of Congress, and as President of Antioch College—perhaps more conspicuous in the last office. Had the little narrow, bigoted sect of Christians known his profound convictions, and the moral contempt he felt for their absurd and debasing theology, they would never have made him even a teacher in their school, much less its head.*

If he had lived, he must have felt great embarrassment from this cause, to be met by yet farther duplicity. I like not his taking of bread and wine in the meeting houses of his sect, nor his having prayers three times a day at his table. It was an official and not a personal act, and savors of hypocrisy. It was done for example—but it was an instance of falseness to his own convictions. He would not have been a good president of a college; he was too austere; and, besides, he could not shut his eyes. Still more, lads at college at once detect all insincerity in their teachers, and judge with terrible justice.

> "Him only pleasure leads and peace attends,
> Him, only him, the shield of God defends,
> Whose means are pure and spotless as his ends."

Mann did not know this, or knowing, did not heed.

These are his great public works:

*It must not be forgotten that this is Theodore Parker's opinion of the Christians and not Horace Mann's.



1. He opposed intemperance, I mean drunkenness. The State had no more efficient laborer directly in this reform. Of course he was an extremist and went for total abstinence, and ultimately for the entire suppression of all trade in every intoxicating drink, as an article of pleasure or of diet. In 1836 he induced the Legislature to pass a law making it a crime to be drunk in public; the State had had no such laws for 150 years, I think. He put the stamp of felony on the hideous vice. As a temperance lecturer, he had great power, for he appealed both to the understanding and the conscience with masterly skill.

2. He worked for the insane. I think no one, or two, or five men in the State did them such wise service as he. But of this you know much more than I.

3. He took up the common schools of Massachusetts in his arms and blessed them. Here was the great work of his life. It was a piece of heroic self-denial to take the Secretaryship of the Board of Education. He gave up his profession, and $2500 or $3000 a year; he abandoned the Presidency of the Senate, and the fairest chance of political honors, for he was one of the most popular and influential men in the Legislature, to work for the public education of the people of Massachusetts fifteen hours a day, pay his own travelling expenses, and become the butt of all the Democratic politicians—Rantoul was the only Democrat in Massachusetts who cared anything for the public schools—of all the lazy school masters who were unfit for their office, and of all the little miserable orthodox ministers who complained of his want of EN-PAI-ET-TY (You know how to pronounce that word). How he did work! How he did fight! How he licked the schoolmasters! If one of the little mosquitoes bit him, Mann thought he had never taken quite notice enough of the creature till he

had smashed it to pieces with a 48-pound cannon shot which rung throughout the land. He was the father of Normal Schools. His good work here will live; one hundred years hence, three generations will have tasted its blessed influence, the last the deepest of all. His influence went to all New England and her fair daughter states. It is not often that a man has such opportunity to serve his kind; in our country I know none who used it better, almost none so well. Massachusetts had but one man fit for the work; he went in at the call of duty; the State is not yet wise enough to honor him for such heroism; it is alike incomprehensible to the Suffolk Bar and the Suffolk Pulpit.

4. He went to Congress at a most trying period. There was a little indirection in his mode of getting there, which I never liked. But when there he proved himself the ablest, the most high-minded and far-sighted, the most moral and statesmanlike man Massachusetts has sent there in the nineteenth century. In point of intellectual ability for the post, only J. Q. Adams was his superior—his long life of politics gave him that superiority; in all other matters, I assign the palm to Mann. I did not agree with all his measures, nor accept all his principles, but I honored his integrity and reverenced his power. When Daniel Webster committed the great sin which immediately doubled his popularity in Boston with the Hunkers who had bought him, and have now given him his post on that stone of shame in the State House yard, whence Massachusetts will one day cast it down and break it to powder, Horace Mann exposed the wickedness of the deed; none in Congress, I think, did the work so ably. He smote the champion of slavery a blow which sent him reeling home; it was the heaviest Webster ever had. He never recovered from it.

In his public life, I find no aims but the noblest



of all. Of how many others can you or I say that? He had a great mind, though one of quite peculiar structure. He was a formidable debater, with, however, the faults that are generic with lawyers. None that I have known could so skilfully expose the weakness of an opponent; of course, he did not always do justice to his opponent; he was combative to an extraordinary degree, and loved the *gaudium certaminis* like an old Goth. His great excellence was moral, not intellectual. He did love his kind, he did hate their oppressors. Philanthropy is the key-note of all his music.

As a lawyer I am told that he never took a case that he did not conscientiously think he ought to win. I should be surprised if it was not true. But I don't think he was always quite scrupulous enough as to the means of achieving his end. His policy sometimes bordered on deceit.

As a relative, neighbor, husband, father, his character was admirable, perhaps spotless. Young men loved him. All the door-keepers at Washington and the other servants of the Capitol; and old men of noble mark looked on him with admiration and esteem. I shall always place him among the noblest men of New England, and thank God I had the privilege of his acquaintance, perhaps of his esteem and friendship; and sometimes the opportunity of doing him some little favor. There are but two men living—Emerson and Garrison—whom I have in public praised so much or ranked so high. How different the three, yet how great their public service to the cause of humanity! None could comprehend the other, though each might admire. When Mann moved out of Massachusetts, he left a gap none since has filled. I don't think Ohio was worthy of him, or could appreciate his worth. Yet Boston had little claim on such a soul as his. But, dear old puritanic town, with all its faults the noblest of human

> cities, it yet gave money for his college! The very men, I think, whose political idols he broke to fragments, and ground to powder, and trod in the mire of the street, gave him dollars for his college!*
>
> THEODORE PARKER.

Mr. Mann was greatly swayed by his benevolent impulses. For him to feel that a public service was needed, was full warrant for him to undertake the work, even though a living remuneration was not guaranteed. This was amply established by his attitude with reference to the Secretaryship. It was first thought that the salary would be $3000, but later, when it was known that the amount would be much less, he said, "I shall get my revenge; I shall give them more than they pay for." When he was chosen President of Antioch College, the salary first considered was likewise $3000, but that seemed such a princely sum for the new West, that it was finally fixed at $2000; here Horace Mann expected to find his reward in the opportunity for large service. He early felt his responsibility to other members of his household and willingly devoted money to their comfort and welfare. His niece, Miss Pennell, was most dutiful and affectionate in her relationship and probably richly deserved all she ever received at his hands, but some of his relatives were less considerate and deserving. Early in life, he, time after time, was taxed with indiscretions and absolute wrong doing of a brother whose faults stripped him of all he had and left him considerably in debt. He at once set himself resolutely to pay this amount and many a time denied himself the real comforts of life until he was again even with the world.

* Weiss, Life of Parker.



His old neighbors were likewise disposed to prey upon him, and several hundred dollars of hard-earned money were spent in efforts to help unfortunate and sometimes even worthless men for the sake of old times. His absolute trust in certain men that he singled out by his impulse or his affection, led him seriously to cramp himself in order that he might accommodate them. From time to time, he sent money to a lawyer in Toledo, who had been a classmate of his at Litchfield, first with the thought of general investment for his own benefit, but later as direct loans. He regretted this action but still continued it, careful lest his family should discover how unwise he had been in his business relations.

He went to Antioch without any adequate understanding of the financial conditions of the college, and finally found himself president of an institution already hopelessly involved in debt, and with no source from which to gather funds. With an adequate financial support, his other difficulties at Antioch might have been more readily adjusted. Much of the bitterness of that long-fought controversy is directly traceable to lack of funds; that deprivation made it impossible for him to carry out many of the admirable plans which he had formed for the institution. If one lesson beyond another is apparent in Horace Mann's career at Antioch, it is the emphasis of the importance of adequate financial support to carry out any large educational enterprise.

For the young men of our generation, Horace Mann has lessons of guidance and of warning. His tremendous moral earnestness; his disposition to respond to duty at the moment of its call; his tendency to sacrifice

himself and all his personal interests for the public good; his large recognition of education as the true field for those activities that make for the welfare of human society; his masterful methods of stirring a state to new ideals, and new achievements—all these mark him as a man to be admired, to be loved and to be followed. But his quibbling and apologizing; his adoption of questionable means for the attainment of noble ends; his occasional defenses of the little and unworthy; and his tendency to pursue his opponents with such relentless fury—all of these things are the lessons of warning.

Still it is well to remember that the man who makes no mistakes is the man who maintains a masterly inactivity. Life is a battle. The exigencies of the hour often demand immediate action. Decisions must sometimes be made even when a man is not at his best. Even in the fields of religion and philanthropy, the predatory instinct of the Anglo-Saxon will assert itself. Horace Mann met this spirit on many a hard-fought field. Sometimes he yielded to the spell of the conflict and fought unfairly. Even then it is hard to condemn him utterly, for he made the cause of humanity his own and sought its welfare like a knight of old.

If it is true that a man is the architect of his own fortune, and if the architect is accountable not only for what he does but for what he chooses; if it is true that he is the master of his own fate, because he selects his surroundings; then we could wish that Horace Mann had been wiser or that fate had been kind enough to place him in a position where he would have had fewer conflicts unto death and where he might



have been steadily engaged in those noble activities which would have given his life peace.

Some men are born inspirers, with the gift to quicken their fellow-men, with the power to reveal to them visions of infinite grace and growth and power. They are great exemplars, finding in themselves the possibilities of illustrating the great constructive forces of righteousness in the world. In their own special realm, they stand as teachers and leaders of men, with power to beautify, ennoble and transform human character. So it was with Horace Mann,—great and beautiful and strong, quickener of the souls of men, revealer of the great law of human duty, and teacher of the highest lessons of patriotism; kindler of noble ideals and greater achievements, he left his stamp upon his time, and those whose hearts touched his in the great glow of friendship, found inspiration and courage which carried them beyond themselves. In the presence of this mighty soul, they found a greatness that before they had not known. To the young men of his country he brought a marvellous message, and to every spirit ready to find in itself new possibilities, willing to strive for the highest achievements, consecrated to the highest personal good that it might become the greatest good of all, Horace Mann spoke a tongue, thrilling with all the beautiful and noble voices of the glorious past, and bright with the ringing prophecies of the golden age to come.



CHAPTER XI

HIS INFLUENCE

The contributions to every age are two: the things of the spirit and the things of the body; ideals promulgated, institutions established. The things of the spirit are too fine to be measured by any human compass or weighed in any human balances. There is a phenomenal power by which one human soul inspires and transforms another, but its qualities can never be measured. And as an inspirer, Horace Mann was a master spirit in his generation. He left ideals, works and institutions, but the greatest contribution to his generation is to be found in the thousands of human souls that he quickened to a higher life, and here his influence is beyond all human estimate. The most that can be said of his work in this field of activity is that it can never be told. But there are records not a few, in the back counties of Massachusetts, in the cultured streets of Boston, in the Ohio villages and towns, in the hamlets on the western prairie, by the river side, and on the shores of the Great Lakes, of words that he has spoken and ideals that he has promoted, spirits that he has kindled with a deathless flame. This is the blessed and indescribable influence of Horace Mann in the world.

But we may turn to things that may be recognized and measured. It is of striking significance that the



great movements in which Horace Mann was so deeply concerned have been carried forward by the current of our national life, and many of these movements have worked themselves out to a large realization.

His idea of the office and scope of a representative as a governmental expert has not yet been realized, but it has every year larger recognition in practical politics, and the public is steadily placing increased responsibility upon those who shape legislation and administer public affairs. How prophetically he must have looked forward to these times, to find men standing as the embodiment of a sacred trust in government, which they have incorporated as the service of their lives! The tendency toward a business-like administration of public affairs,—municipal, state and national,—and the large increase in the number of civil service appointees, all tend in the direction of his early political efforts. There is a growing recognition of the state as an organization to guard liberty, promote the general welfare, and inspire the highest achievements of its citizens. This was exactly his ideal.

The increased concern of the state institutions for the amelioration of suffering, for the nurture and care of orphans, and for ministering to the blind, the insane and the unfortunate citizens of the republic, are all but the outgrowth of ideals for which he contended. But out of all his legislative work, there is nothing that has borne greater fruit than his service in establishing the Insane Hospital at Worcester. It was the first institution for the care of the insane to be established and sustained at the expense of the state. That idea has spread from commonwealth to commonwealth until no state in our broad Union now fails to make



such provision for its insane. Extending this field of activity, state hospitals for the treatment of nervous diseases and for dealing with other diseases of the people now abound.

His work for temperance, while steadfast and of no small moment, finds its counterpart in this day in every state in the Union, and his personal habits and beliefs are more fully recognized in the thought of total abstinence and prohibition, though his method of work finds its highest incorporation in the anti-saloon organizations, state and national. The cause has made some great strides forward. He longed for total abstinence. This has not come, and it cannot come until every man is master of himself and until Horace Mann's ideal of character becomes general among men.

"Here, behold a patriarch, whose stock of vigor three-score years and ten seem hardly to have impaired. His erect form, his firm step, his elastic limbs and undimmed senses, are so many certificates of good conduct, or, rather, so many jewels and orders of nobility with which Nature has honored him for his fidelity to her laws. His fair complexion shows that his blood has never been corrupted; his pure breath shows that he has never yielded his digestive apparatus for a vintner's cess-pool; his exact language and keen apprehension, that his brain has never been drugged or stupefied by the poisons of distiller or tobacconist. Enjoying his appetite to the highest, he has preserved the power of enjoying them. Despite the moral of the school-boy's story, he has eaten his cake and still kept it. As he drains the cup of life, there are no lees at the bottom. His organs will reach the goal of existence together. Painlessly, as a candle burns down in its socket, so will he expire; and a



little imagination would convert him into another Enoch, translated from the earth to a better world without the sting of death.

"But look at the opposite extreme, where an opposite history is recorded. What wreck so shocking to behold as the wreck of a dissolute man; the vigor of life exhausted, yet the first steps in an honorable career not taken; in himself a lazaar-house of disease; dead, but, by a heathenish custom of society, not buried! Rogues have had the initial letter of their title burnt into the palms of their hands; even for murder, Cain was only branded on the forehead; but over the whole person of the debauchee or the inebriate, the signatures are written. How Nature brands him with stigma and opprobrium! How she hangs labels all over him, to testify her disgust at his existence, and to admonish others to beware of his example! How she loosens all his joints, sends tremors along his muscles, and bends forward his frame, as to bring him upon all fours, with kindred brutes, or to degrade him to the reptile's crawling! How she disfigures his countenance, as if intent upon obliterating all traces of her own image, so that she may swear she never made him! How she pours rheum over his eyes, sends foul spirits to inhabit his breath, and shrieks, as with a trumpet, from every pore of his body, 'Behold a Beast!'" *

Among all Mr. Mann's activities, there are three that deserve special recognition. They are found in his service to the cause of education in Massachusetts; in his devotion and counsel in promoting the conditions for human freedom, and in his work at Antioch College.

He wrought out the ideal of the American Public School and incorporated it in Massachusetts in a way which has given that Commonwealth high rank among

*"Thoughts for a Young Man."

her sister states to the present time. This ideal has passed from commonwealth to commonwealth until now the type of public school which he announced and incorporated has become the national ideal. There are points in which the present system surpasses anything he thought or dreamed of. He was hardly a school-master, and he proposed some methods of instruction and sought to obtain some results which later experience has proved it impossible to realize. But he has intrenched in the minds of the American people an ideal for the common school which is capable of endless development and which contains the essential features that will adapt it to the needs of the country for generations. Education has become a national passion, and people all over our country not only believe in it until they are willing to talk about it, but they believe in it until they are willing to pay for it, which in America is the final test of the people's confidence in any great movement. Henry Sabin writes:

"In the annals of American educators, the name of Horace Mann leads all the rest. Others, since his day, have been more skilled in the science of psychology or of pedagogy; others have made a more careful study of methods, and have scrutinized more closely child nature; but no one has equalled him in touching the heart of the common people of the state, and in awakening in their minds an enthusiasm in behalf of popular education."

Far more widely than one would think, his influence has extended. The great body of educational literature which came from his pen, often in hours of sorrow and extreme depression, has been, in one form or an-



other, the store-house from which thousands have drawn their arguments and inspiration; and even to-day, on most questions of education, his reports afford a thorough, alive and up-to-date treatment of the significant questions of our time.

But, from the days when the Lord Christ walked in Galilee to pray on the mountain top, and teach by the lakeside, until this time, life has been most wisely distributed in the world by the sacred touch of a glowing human spirit, and the best record which Mr. Mann wrote is found in the hearts and minds of living men, his generation and the next, who learned his gospel of education. The whole state of Massachusetts, and to a less degree the territory of New England, caught from him the sacred fire, and these men and women overflowed, far and near, into the schools of Virginia, South Carolina and Louisiana, far beyond the "Father of Waters," and away to the Pacific. And they have gone everywhere, teaching Horace Mann's great gospel of education, modifying, enlarging, working out in detail the things he planned and taught; but these are the same lessons, writ large by new hands to meet the needs of new localities. His ideals of education, carried throughout the great Middle West and on the shores of the Pacific, are already coming back in life-giving waves and quickening the educational thought of New England—land in which his first great work was done, and land which he loved so deeply and so tenderly. The passing years have broadened and deepened the work of Horace Mann, and given it a shape and a tenderness which make it beautiful with a radiance like that which rests upon the western mountains in the glow of the setting sun.

The traveler reaching the Massachusetts State House by the front entrance, will find on either side of the walk the statues of two eminent men, Daniel Webster and Horace Mann. These are the Expounder of the Constitution and the Apostle of Education, set in bronze. None of us can realize the bitter controversy that raged in Massachusetts between the friends of these two. Partisans of Mr. Webster early determined that he must have a statue and appealed to the legislature to erect one at public expense. Failing in this appeal, they opened a public subscription and soon secured ample means for a bronze statue and were granted permission to erect it in the State-House yard.

With the changing attitude of the public mind, Massachusetts felt that she must redeem herself from any stain of apostasy from the cause of human freedom, and many an outspoken voice was raised for the removal of the statue of Mr. Webster. Wiser counsels prevailed, but on the death of Horace Mann it was soon apparent that his friends were determined that he should likewise have a public testimonial to the love and confidence of the people. The funds for this statue were collected mainly in small sums from children in the public schools, and from friends of education. The commission was given to Miss Emma C. Stebbins; the statue was finished; and in the early morning of the Fourth of July, 1865, in the presence of the leading citizens of Boston, surrounded by a throng of school children who participated in the exercises, this bronze statue was unveiled and dedicated to the memory of Horace Mann, the champion of temperance, education and human freedom. The prayer was made by Rev. R. C. Waterston, a preliminary address was made by



Dr. S. G. Howe, chairman of the committee, and the chief address by Governor John A. Andrew, who concluded in these eloquent words:

"Not for his sake, therefore, but for ours, and for our children's, in the name of Massachusetts, and in behalf of her people, of the sacred cause of learning and the not less holy cause of liberty, I inaugurate this monumental effigy of Horace Mann. Here shall it stand, mute but eloquent, in sunshine and in storm. On the brow of Beacon Hill, in front of the Capitol of the Commonwealth, side by side, the statues of Webster and of Mann will attract the gaze of the coming generations, defying the decays of time, long after these living men and women who assist in this day's ceremonies shall have slept in the dust with their fathers.

"On the one hand is the statue of DANIEL WEBSTER, the great Jurist, the great Statesman, the great American. On the other hand is the statue of HORACE MANN, the teacher of philosophy in its application both to politics and to popular learning, whose constituency was mankind. The rising sun of the morning will turn from the purple east to salute his brow; and when his golden orb ascends to the zenith, shining down from on high in the heavens, he will wrap and warm them both with generous embrace in his lambent love and glory."

Horace Mann's work for the cause of human liberty was not beyond that of many men of his generation, and his influence must be measured as that of a strong hand which took a noble part in a great movement, a part which was taken at a time when it meant real sacrifice and definite cost to those who so bespoke themselves. The slaves are free and they have made great strides toward a liberty founded on efficiency and personal worth; but the race question is not yet

solved, and we are likely enough to come nearer to his ideals as expressed in a letter written at their request to a convention of colored freemen in Cincinnati, Ohio, January, 1852:

"You are pleased to ask my views 'as regards the present position and future prospects of the colored race in this country.'

"You submit to me a great problem. Its terms include the colored population alone. But I presume you would not exclude from contemplation the welfare of the white race, so far as that can be promoted by a full regard for the rights of the blacks. Fortunately, however, I believe there is no real conflict of interest between the races. The eternal laws of justice and right would promote the welfare of both. If either resists these laws, it will deserve, and must ultimately receive, an avenging retribution. * * * * * *

"In the first place, I think it neither probable nor desirable that the African race should die out and leave that part of the earth to which they are native and indigenous to the Caucasian or any other of the existing races. There are vegetable and animal races which we may lawfully desire to see supplanted by other kinds of vegetable or animal growths; nay, there are tribes of the human family whose existence we may not wish to see continued, provided always that they dwindle and retire in a natural way, and without the exercise of violence or injustice to expel them from the earth. But writers on the characteristics of the different races of men ascribe to the African many of the most desirable qualities belonging to human nature. As compared with the Caucasian race, they are indeed supposed to be less inventive, to have less power for mathematical analysis, and less adaptation for abstruse investigation generally, are less enterprising, less vigorous, and are less defiant of obstacles. But, on the other hand, there is great unanimity in according to them a more cheerful,



joyous and companionable nature, greater fondness and capacity for music, a keener relish for whatever, in their present state of development, may be regarded as beauty, and a more quick, enduring and exalted religious affection. The blacks, as a race, I believe to be less aggressive and predatory than the whites, more forgiving, and *generally* not capable of the white man's tenacity and terribleness of revenge. In fine, I suppose the almost universal opinion to be, that in intellect the blacks are inferior to the whites; while in sentiment and affection, the whites are inferior to the blacks.

"Under these natural conditions, may not the blacks develop as high a state of civilization as the whites? Or, what is perhaps the better question, may not independent nations of each race be greatly improved by the existing of independent nations of the other? I believe so.

"I believe there is a band of territory around the earth on each side of the Equator, which belongs to the African race. Their Creator adapted their organizations to its climate. The commotions of the earth have jostled many of them out of their place; but they will be restored to it when reason and justice shall succeed to the terrible guilt and passions that displaced them."

After a bold argument in favor of the establishment in separate communities where the colored people will have to develop themselves in all the industrial, social and political rights and responsibilities, after encouraging the establishment of such colonies as the colored people may wish to establish, after guarding against any misconception that he should favor the idea of excluding the American Negro from the place of his birth and residence and driving him out of the country against his will, after paying a tribute to Frederick

Douglass, Henry Bibb, Samuel R. Ward, William Crafts, and other negroes, at that time high in the esteem of the Abolitionists, he concludes:

"Do not these considerations bear directly and strongly upon the great question, as your letter expresses it, 'of future prospects of the colored race in this country'—that is, as I understand you, the colored race, both bond and free? I think they do. While, therefore, it is *our* duty to do whatever we can to ameliorate the condition of the colored people among us, and especially to resist the pro-slavery action of ambitious politicians and of the General Government, it is *your* duty to project some broad and comprehensive plan, and devote all your energies to its execution, which shall look to the ultimate redemption and elevation, within the shortest practical period, of your brethren in bondage, 'in this country,' and throughout the globe. Gird yourselves for this work. Seek for wealth as a means of education, advancement and influence; build yourselves up as far as possible into a condition of independence; let your hearts be penetrated with the moral and religious fervor which belongs to a good and holy cause, and may God bless your endeavors."

Very truly yours,
HORACE MANN.

It has been the custom, particularly in New England, to belittle Horace Mann's work at Antioch College, but there he wrought a distinct service which is going on with results not less remarkable than those in the other fields of his activity. On going to Ohio, he found a new and ready field for his efforts. His international reputation gave his words far more weight than those of any other educator within the bounds of state or nation. Venable thus speaks of his influence:



"Early in the fifties, Horace Mann came to Ohio as president of Antioch College; and great apostle of education as he was, he spoke in many cities and towns to crowded audiences on the great moral and intellectual questions, not only of the hour, but of all time. His most celebrated discourse, 'Thoughts for a Young Man,' took strong hold on the memories of numberless hearers and readers."

He took large part in the State College Association and did much to stamp upon the public mind the ideals of temperance and abstinence from tobacco; and among all the public school and college instructors, he emphasized and secured respectful consideration for ideals of conduct among college students superior to any that have yet been accepted.

In Antioch College he planted an institution which incorporated his finest ideals of the common school, chastened and adapted to serve the purposes of higher education. He emphasized there, as never before, the benefits of sustained practice in the observance of the physical laws of life and health. He emphasized to the extreme limit the importance of sterling moral character as a condition in college students for their graduation. He held that

"A diploma is a letter of credit addressed, not to an individual, but to the world. It purports to say, and it does virtually, if not expressly, say that its bearer has enjoyed superior advantages, and therefore he is qualified to perform the duties and to fill places of honor and trust, in some good degree proportionate to the advantages which he has enjoyed. Hence it is plainly a certificate of educational eminence. It seems to me equally clear that it also imports good moral character. Any interpretation which would allow a college faculty to give this letter of credit to

one profligate member in a class of fifty, would allow them to give it to fifty profligate members—that is, to a whole class of profligates. If by universal consent a diploma is prima facie evidence of the bearer's superior attainments—liable of course to be rebutted by self-displays of ignorance—then there is still stronger reason why it should be presumptive evidence of good habits, sobriety and exemplariness of life. . . A college had a thousand times better endorse a score of dunces as learned, than one villain as trustworthy."

To meet this condition, the ordinary form of diploma was modified as shown by the words in italics:

"By virtue of the authority confided in me by the Charter of Antioch College, and in consideration of the proficiency you have made in the liberal arts and sciences; *in further consideration also, of the reputable character you have here maintained, and the exemplary life you have here led,* I hereby admit you to all the honors and prerogatives of the First Academic Degree."

"No other college president ever had before him a more susceptible body of students; and no other body of students ever had over them a more honored president, or one with greater power to impress himself. These six years were years of sacrifice, filled with many petty annoyances and grievous disappointments to Mr. Mann; but at the same time they were years of great victory for the cause for which he was laboring. In those six years he did more for the higher education and for the elevation of women than any other man in any other place ever did in a quarter of a century. In those six years he demonstrated to the world that men and women can be educated together with mutual advantage to both intellect and morals. In those six years he did more than any man in a generation to demonstrate that women have equal intellectual capacity with men. In those six years he showed how a college can be Christian in the best sense in which



that word can be used, and at the same time not sectarian. In those six years he did much to prove that conduct and character, rather than opinions, are the essential things in life. In those six years he impressed his high ideals upon hundreds and hundreds of young people in such a way as to change the entire character of their after lives. His power to inspire was phenomenal. In those six years, outside college walls, in educational meetings, and on the lecture platform, in Ohio and other Western States, by his magical power as a speaker, he stimulated thousands of people to nobler thinking and higher living. In those six years he imbued Antioch College with a spirit that still pervades it; which stimulates to higher aims and nobler purposes every one who is brought within its influence. Those six years were a glorious climax to one of the grandest lives this world has ever known."*

But better than any of these things which are named at the college was that particular elusive quality which is known to all Antiochians as the "Antioch Spirit." It was an emanation of his great soul, too intangible to be fully described, yet so all-pervasive, so vital and impossible to ignore, that all who have felt the charm of its influence and have seen the blessing of its power, regard it as a thousand times more real than things of time and sense.

"The education obtained at Antioch is essentially one in fundamentals. It gives men a passion to find the law of things. It consists not in the knowing of facts alone, but also in the mastering of their significance. For this reason, Antioch wields an irresistible influence on its students and stamps all earnest sons with its seal of power.

*Hon. W. A. Bell, Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1896.

"This is what I call the 'Antioch Spirit,' which is so often alluded to with very little appreciation. This spirit works in and through the lives of the students and educes all fundamental elements of character, such as honesty, morality, courage, self-reliance and self-control. Many of Antioch's alumni pass before my mind and in the characters of nearly all I recognize these abiding qualities. Antioch stands now and has ever stood for the development of the worthy, divine inner man."*

"Time, indeed, though it works changes of its own upon our impressions, seems with the passing years to weave certain of our memories more closely into the texture of the mind. And Antioch's influence, Antioch's associations, have this enduring quality. They are imperishable elements of my life. I never saw his face. He had finished his task, that is, the direct work of his hand, and others had entered into his labors, and I suppose, judging from what I could learn of his spirit and methods, that the atmosphere of the school had in some degree changed since it had felt the influence of his personal control. I should say—perhaps those who knew the earlier Antioch and its founder would dispute the statement—that its spirit was broader. He had the make-up and the aims of a born educator. But in the strength of his reformatory zeal, there was a suggestion of the school-master's (shall I say the moralist's) narrowness, a too confident reliance upon mere rules and direct teaching, as compared with the indirect but deeper and more humanizing influence of broad mental culture. But the broad mental culture was given and had its effect, and in Antioch as I knew her, along with the passion for work and a generous hospitality to all forms of thought, there was on the whole a surprising geniality and soundness of tone, without much religious phrasing or a too self-conscious morality.

"The hard work of a really good education is in

*Prof. Wm. M. Dawson, in letter to the author, Feb., 1900.



itself a moral discipline, and that work had begun to tell. In fact, the earnest, unpretending life of that little community in my study days seems to me now, at least in comparison with the life of the great world, little less than ideal. But if Antioch had this sense developed, the initiatory impulse had come from Horace Mann. The spirit which pervaded her work and her social relations was in its undeveloped form the spirit which he had originally breathed into her life."*

"To the real Antiochian, of whatever period, the one who reveres and loves his college, and its heritages of spiritual life, the words 'Antioch Spirit' touch at once definite and deep feeling, but yet difficult to express in words.

"May we not say that it is the benediction of an influence, large and vital, coming to us from the lofty ambition for a great good to humanity and the loving devotion to its cause, felt by the founders of the college and by its distinguished first President—an influence cherished and made effective by the consecrated work of all its true lovers.

"To specify a little the qualities of this pervasive spirit, I believe the breath of its life is the faith that every human being is a child of God, and that a reverent listening at the door of its own heart always finds the voice of its Father.

"Naturally, an almost apostolic simplicity and directness of character would be, to a large extent, the result of such a faith; naturally, too, a certain gentle and yet invincible daring because of this faith, and the teachings that wrong fails because it is wrong, no matter what the temporary appearance, and that right wins simply because it is right.

"The Antioch spirit seeks the graces and forces of truth; and when the walls of the old college shall have crumbled away, that spirit will still constitute the

*J. K. Hosmer, in letter, 1896.

real Antioch, a college which can never perish from the earth."*

"The real Antioch promptly slipped the fetters of the little Ohio town. It took possession in great communities backed by great commonwealths. A non-sectarian, co-educational, co-racial war cry became the bugle notes that gave success to Ann Arbor, Cornell and the long line of state universities, normal schools and high schools that have come to be in the Western states since Antioch was born. . . . Whatever becomes of the Yellow Springs Antioch, the Antioch of Horace Mann is one of the greatest educational successes of the century."†‡

The sons and daughters of Antioch College are scattered afar, but they have carried the Promethean fire and kept it lighted on every household altar in the homes where they abide. And now and then, in its sacred flame, is dimly seen the face of Horace Mann, reminding them of his tremendous hatred of wrong, of his love of learning and of his unfailing devotion to duty. Every Antiochian, who has been kindled by the spirit of Horace Mann, is a new center from which there are projected vigorously the great ideas to which he gave his life. These ideas have traversed the great Mississippi Valley, passed over the Rocky Mountains, and planted themselves in every valley and on every hillside to the great Pacific, and they are incorporating themselves in institutions where now they find habitation and a name throughout the great West.

*E. D. L. in letter to the author.

†Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, in "Unity," June 23, 1898.

‡Antioch College, with the old ideals restated and adapted to present-day conditions, now bids fair to realize the high hopes of its great First President.



AFTERWORD

The holy spirit of man is the marvel of the universe. Its power can be measured by no human means and the laws of its development are little understood. We trace a thousand agencies at work in making the human spirit efficient among the children of men. With painstaking care we note every force that has been playing upon the elusive, manlike, Godlike entity. We would pierce beyond the veil and seek knowledge in the mysteries of spirit. But after all, we come back to the words of Jesus: "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the spirit."

Horace Mann is gone, but I commend to you his great example, his determination never to fail, his far vision of human needs, his high conception of the obligation of the individual to society, and his great devotion to the welfare of man. His life was worthy and its fruits abide.



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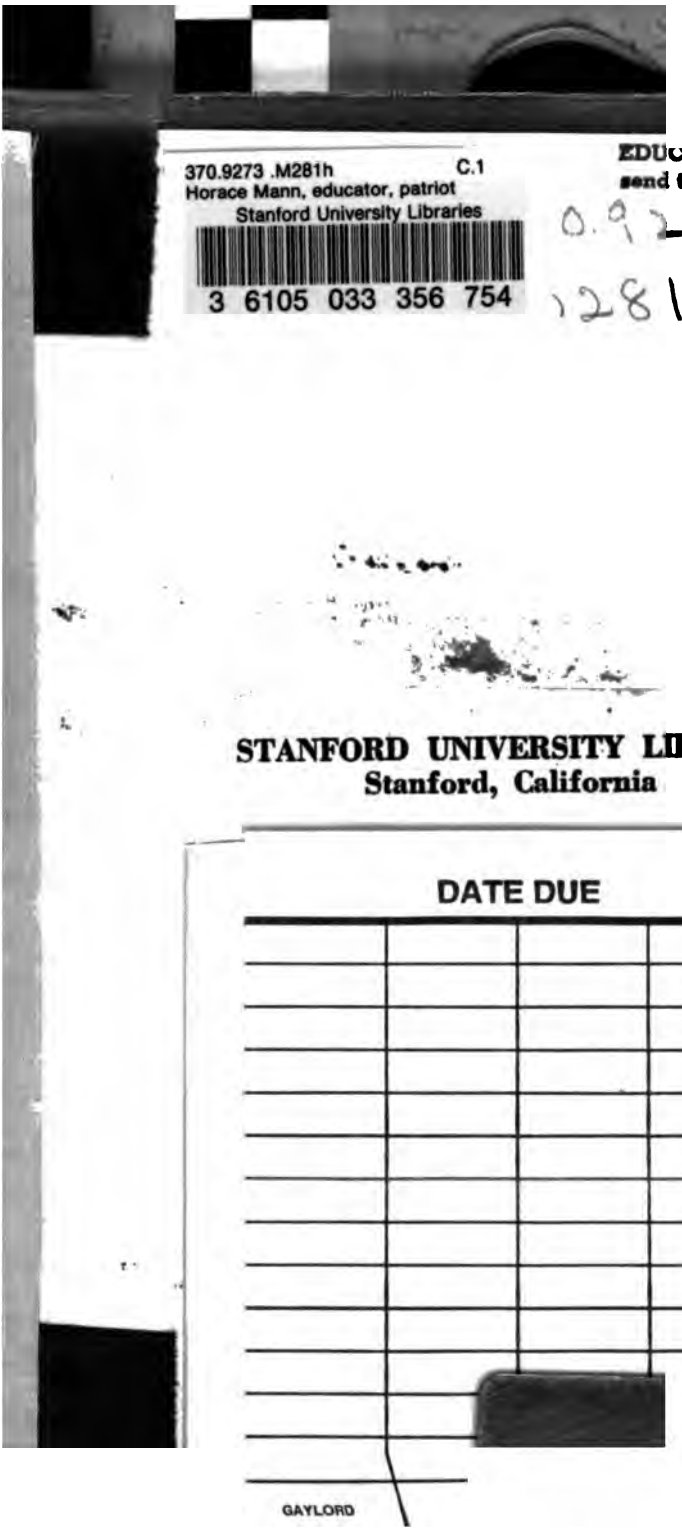
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